

# THE EXPOSITORY TIMES

## Notes of Recent Exposition

A VOLUME has been published to honour the memory of T. W. Manson entitled *New Testament Essays*.<sup>1</sup> It includes contributions from twenty-one scholars of high standing in the sphere of New Testament scholarship, many of them with world-wide reputations. Among so many articles of real distinction it must seem invidious to choose any one for special comment; but not more than one can be usefully represented here, and that by Professor C. F. D. MOULE deals with a subject of great general interest and of considerable current importance.

In all spheres of knowledge each generation tends to have its own special discoveries and characteristic enthusiasms. These make their own valuable contribution, but are always in danger of running to excess. They emphasize one point, but sometimes it is at the expense of other truths which are for the time ignored or even obscured. Two such tendencies have been prominent in our time in New Testament studies. One springs from the emphasis on the community life of the Early Church and the influence on the New Testament of its forms of worship. It has thrown light on some aspects of the New Testament, but there has been a danger that 'liturgical explanations' are offered where they are not really applicable. The second tendency sprang from the emphasis that the Gospels took their form within the life of the Church between A.D. 65 and 100, and to some extent reflect the Christian thought of that time. This led to the further affirmation that they were the product of later 'faith', and so could not be relied on to preserve an accurate account of factual history either of the words or the deeds of Jesus. In consequence it is to-day rather out of fashion to question the validity of a 'liturgical explanation', or to take a vigorous stand for the reliability of the Gospels as historical documents.

Professor MOULE bravely sets himself to defy both these strongly running streams in his essay on 'The Intention of the Evangelists'. It is all the more interesting because it was completed before the publication of H. Riesenfeld's address on 'The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginnings', of which, therefore, it is quite independent, but with which it has much in common. Professor MOULE

<sup>1</sup> Manchester University Press; 42s. net.

contends that even as early as the time when the Gospels were written, the writers were well aware, as also were instructed readers, of the distinction between what in modern times we have called 'the Jesus of history' and 'the Christ of faith'. He argues that if the Gospels were read in the worship of the Church—and he declines to assume this without proof—they would be used in roughly the same kind of way as the historical narratives of the Old Testament were used in the worship of the synagogue, whereas the Epistles were of corresponding significance to the prophetic writings.

Even if the Gospels were used in worship, he will not allow that this was the purpose for which they were written. 'The synoptic Gospels, at any rate,' he writes, 'are better explained as apologetic material'—'the explanation of "how it all started"'. They, of course, spring from faith, but are addressed not so much to faith as to unbelief. St. Luke's Gospel seems explicitly to declare this as its purpose, since it is written to 'possess Theophilus of the facts—τὴν ἀσφάλειαν (14)'. Even the Fourth Gospel is 'more intelligible as a skilful apology to the pagan Gnostic, and perhaps still more to the non-Christian Jew, than as primarily intended for the full believer'. Even St. Matthew's Gospel, which some have called the Liturgical Gospel, 'looks like ethical and religious instruction designed to equip Christians not only with spiritual help, but also with intellectual guidance in facing attacks from Jews'. St. Mark is not only set within the framework of the kerygma, but the whole Gospel is itself 'in the nature of kerygma', and the kerygma is primarily for unbelievers. Matthew and Mark were therefore both written to provide Christians with 'equipment for their evangelical witness to outsiders, while John and Luke were meant as tracts to place directly in the hands of outside enquirers'.

The author examines the claim that the Gospels were a collection of isolated sayings and narratives, brought together for use *within* the Christian community. He asks: If so, then why are they not more credal? Why do they not contain more instruction how Christ may be received and appropriated? If Mark was written for *believers* at Rome, why do we not read in it some of the great affirmations of faith which we find in Paul's letter



to the Romans? 'It is difficult to understand how such a presentation of Christ (as we find in Mark) could have seemed adequate, if Mark was really intended primarily as a vehicle of praise and meditation for the worshipping Church.' 'In Mark the good news is the good news of the Kingdom of God, announced by Jesus; in Paul it is Christ Himself, offered in the preaching and worship of the Church.'

Is it not more than probable, asks Professor MOULE next, that the early worshipping communities, as well as 'singing hymns to Christ as God', recognized that this faith stood or fell with the sober facts of a story, and that it was vital to maintain the unbroken tradition of those facts? Would they not from time to time rehearse the narration *as such*? 'The real core of worship was the experience of the risen Christ within the Christian Church through participation in the Spirit. But Christians knew well that if they lost sight of the story behind that experience their worship would be like a house built on sand; and that if they preached salvation without the story of how it came, they would be powerless evangelists.' 'Therefore they cherished the narrative as something precious.' 'The point is that the Christians knew the difference between the two—the pre-resurrection situation and the post-resurrection situation—and that their aim was to try to tell faithfully the story of how the former led to the latter.'

As one instance of the Early Church's insistence on retaining facts, merely because they were facts, even when they were embarrassing, Dr. MOULE cites the rebuke administered to Jesus for His neglect of fasting (Mk 2<sup>18n</sup>). In view of the emphasis in the Early Church on fasting, this must have been a difficult item in the tradition to assimilate. It was retained only because what Jesus said and did in His ministry was important for its own sake, 'as distinct from what the Holy Spirit was saying and doing at the time of the narrative'.

It is not claimed that these traditions were retained unaltered. Exaggeration and modification did creep in and can be detected. 'But the amazing thing is not that they have sometimes been modified, but that they have generally resisted so phenomenally well the temptation to read back into the narrative the contemporary interpretation of Christ; and was not this due to a conscious resistance to the non-"historical" in the sense just indicated?'

Professor MOULE's conclusions may be summarized thus: 'What is here argued for, therefore,

is that all four Gospels alike are to be interpreted as more than anything else evangelistic and apologetic in purpose; and that the Synoptic Gospels represent primarily the recognition that a vital element in evangelism is the plain story of what happened in the ministry of Jesus'. 'Only secondarily would a Gospel have been intended for purposes of Christian worship—and if for such a purpose, then for its instructional side as distinct from its more directly devotional side.'

Though the theme of this essay runs counter to modern currents, it is a very useful corrective, and its conclusions are well-based and well-argued, and will carry conviction for many readers.

It is unusual to find a book the thought of which is genuinely original, a book which has something really new to say. Such a book is Canon F. C. Synge's *Hebrews and the Scriptures*.<sup>1</sup> Canon Synge undertook the study behind this book in order to examine the use which is made of the Old Testament in Hebrews in order to find guidance for the use of the Old Testament to-day; but his investigations lead him on to certain wider and even more important conclusions. The book is not a long book for it runs to only sixty-four pages, but it is so full of material and its arguments are so closely wrought and it is so economical in words that we can do no more here than indicate the very unusual importance of its arguments and its conclusions.

The writer to the Hebrews begins by using three Old Testament quotations in a Christological sense—Ps 2<sup>7</sup>, 2 S 7<sup>14</sup>, Ps 89<sup>26,27</sup>. Two things are to be noted. (1) In their context these passages are not Christological at all. But there is one thing which connects them all together. In them God is represented as speaking to some one. That some one Canon Synge calls 'The Heavenly Companion'. Canon Synge finds this, so to speak, doctrine of 'The Heavenly Companion' essential to the thought of Hebrews. In the Old Testament there is abundant evidence for this Heavenly Companion, and Jesus is the enfleshment of this Heavenly Companion of God. (2) The writer to the Hebrews quotes these passages without argument, obviously on the assumption that their validity will not be questioned. Further, it is a notable fact that the writer to the Hebrews always quotes anonymously; he never identifies the author of his quotations, and he never sets them in their context. Canon Synge's conclusion is that the writer to the Hebrews was using an accepted book of Scripture Testimonies from the Old Testament concerning 'The Heavenly Companion' and the promise of His

<sup>1</sup> S.P.C.K.; 7s. 6d. net.



coming. To the importance of this we will return. But at the moment we wish to draw attention to certain contentions in this book.

In ch. 3 the writer to the Hebrews calls Jesus without warning the *Apostle* and the *High Priest*. Canon Synge insists on the importance of the fact that *Joshua* and *Jesus* are the same name, and that in the LXX Joshua is Jesus. He insists that in this verse the writer to the Hebrews is seeing two Joshuas as types of Jesus. Joshua the son of Nun was an *apostle*, because he was *sent out* to spy the land; he was unable to give the people the promised rest of God. Jesus was also sent out; He *did* give to men the promised rest of God. Therefore, Jesus of the New Testament is the fulfilment of Joshua, Jesus, of the Old Testament. Further, in the Old Testament we read of Jesus, the High Priest, the son of Jehozadak. He was High Priest; he built the Temple; he was put to shame; he was honoured by God (Zec 3). He is the type of Jesus the High Priest; and the writer to the Hebrews sees Jesus as the fulfilment of the priesthood exemplified in this Jesus, Joshua, of the Old Testament.

Canon Synge sees Hebrews as being made up of two strands which were afterwards put together. There is an apologetic strand, and a hortatory strand. Now it is Canon Synge's contention that the 'hortations' can be removed and the narrative will read consecutively. For instance, take out the 'hortation' 3<sup>7</sup> to 4<sup>13</sup>, and 4<sup>14</sup> exactly follows 3<sup>6</sup>; take out the 'hortation' 10<sup>32</sup> to 12<sup>17</sup>, and 12<sup>18</sup> exactly follows 10<sup>31</sup>. So, then, Canon Synge sees in Hebrews a composite work, consisting of a Christological argument into which a series of removable 'hortations' have been inserted.

This leads to the question, Who were the recipients of the work? Here Canon Synge, following Stather-Hunt, suggests that the title *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* does not mean to the Hebrews, but that it means *against* the Hebrews, and that this is a work *against* a certain form of Judaism. In other words, Hebrews is not a letter at all, but a polemical work against certain Jews. Who were these Jews? They were Jews who had attached themselves to a Jewish-Christian synagogue, but who had not yet taken the step of becoming fully Christian. Canon Synge insists that no one but a Jew could possibly have understood the argument of Hebrews, and that Hebrews is not written to Christians at all but to Jews who would not take the plunge in order to become fully Christian.

This argument is used to elucidate one of the most difficult passages in Hebrews, He 6<sup>4-6</sup>, which, if it is written to Christians, lays it down that

there is no forgiveness for post-baptismal sin. Canon Synge would translate that passage: 'It is impossible for those who were enlightened and tasted the heavenly gift and were made partakers of the Holy Spirit and tasted the good word of God and the powers of the age to come and then fall away, to renew themselves unto repentance by crucifying the Son of God afresh and by putting Him to open shame'. The meaning is that these Jews in the company of the Christian congregation have seen all the powers and gifts of the new age; but they are mentally still in the Old Testament. They cannot understand that the perfect sacrifice has been once and for all made; they think that sacrifices are repeatable; and that, so to speak, it is possible to crucify the Son of God again. As Canon Synge sees it, this passage, like the rest of Hebrews, was not written to Christians and has nothing to do with Christians, but is written to Jews who cannot take the full step to becoming Christian.

All this has its effect on the date of Hebrews. It comes from a time when Christian and Jew alike used the Old Testament, and when both accepted it as their book. It comes from a time when there could be a purely Jewish-Christian synagogue in which the problem of contact with the Gentiles did not arise. Such a situation cannot be any later than A.D. 55.

Finally, what do we learn from Hebrews about the use of the Old Testament? We learn that the Old Testament is everywhere the book of promise and the New Testament is the book of fulfilment. The promise is always the enfleshment of 'The Heavenly Companion', and of the types of Jesus. 'Jesus was enfleshment of the Word of Promise to be seen in the mission of Jesus, son of Nun, and Jesus, son of Jehozadak. He was enfleshment of the Word of Promise to be seen in the office of High Priest, and the creation of Melchizedek. He was enfleshment of the Word of Promise contained in the word of command to destroy the Day of Atonement sin-offering outside the camp.' Herein lies the supreme importance of the Old Testament, for, seen in the light of the Old Testament promise, the New Testament events are no longer arbitrary but direct fulfilments of that which was promised and planned.

This is a book of first-rate importance. One does not need to agree with all Canon Synge's sometimes too ingenious and complicated arguments in order to see the value of this book. This book is a most unusually important contribution to the study of Hebrews and to the study of the use of the Old Testament. It most certainly is a book to be reckoned with.



## Old Testament Commentaries

To meet requests for an authoritative list of Old Testament Commentaries, and to carry out a useful suggestion, we sought the help of six outstanding Old Testament scholars. Each was asked to name what he considered the best commentary on the individual books of the Old Testament (A) for Hebraists and (B) for general readers. One member of the panel did not feel able to select one particular commentary but gave several titles. When the votes were counted the commentaries in this case were weighted so that the final list gives the commentary in each class judged best by the majority vote of the distinguished experts.

It must, however, be said that there are few good modern Old Testament commentaries in English and many of the titles are given *faute de mieux*. For this reason more recent foreign works have been given in notes. English commentaries which would supplement those in the list have also been added by the various members of the panel.

One volume commentaries have been left out of account in our scheme. Except in the case of the smaller books of the Old Testament, where several may be included in a single volume, the list contains only commentaries that are available separately. For this reason the Interpreter's Bible has been omitted since the whole of the Old Testament is covered by it in six volumes. It has, however, been mentioned in the notes where appropriate. These references are to the Introduction and to the exegetical commentary and not to the expository.

Smaller commentaries such as 'The Torch' are outside our field.

The PANEL was composed of the following authorities :—

**G. R. Driver, C.B.E., M.C., M.A., D.D., F.B.A.,**  
Professor of Semitic Philology in the University of Oxford.

**A. R. Johnson, Ph.D., D.D., F.B.A.,** Professor of Semitic Languages, University College of South Wales, Cardiff.

**John Mauchline, M.A., D.D.,** Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature in the University of Glasgow and Principal of Trinity College.

**H. H. Rowley, D.D., Theol.D., F.B.A.,** Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

**N. H. Snaith, M.A., D.D.,** Principal of Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds.

**D. Winton Thomas, M.A.,** Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge.

### Abbreviations—

A.T.D.—Das Alte Testament Deutsch

B.K.—Biblische Kommentar

Camb.B.—Cambridge Bible

Cent.B.—Century Bible

Clar.B.—Clarendon Bible

É.B.—Études Bibliques

H.A.T.—Handbuch zum Alten Testament

H.K.A.T.—Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament

H.S.A.Tes.—Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments (Bonner Bibel)

I.B.—Interpreter's Bible

I.C.C.—International Critical Commentary

K.A.T.—Kommentar zum Alten Testament

K.H.C.—Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament

West.C.—Westminster Commentaries

### GENESIS

(A) J. SKINNER (*I.C.C.*) [1910].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*West.C.*)<sup>12</sup> [1926] (Revised by G. R. Driver).

Notes.—(A) G. J. Spurrell, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis* [1887], is useful for beginners in Hebrew. S. H. Hooke (*Clar.B.*) [1947] is most useful. In German G. von Rad (*A.T.D.*) [1949–53] is very valuable and H. Gunkel (*H.K.*)<sup>5</sup> [1922] is a pioneer work in its appreciation of literary types and the value of comparative folklore.

(B) H. E. Ryle (*Camb.C.*) [1914] received only one vote less than the Westminster Commentary.

### EXODUS

(A) G. BEER and K. GALLING (*H.A.T.*) [1939] in German.

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Camb.B.*) [1911].

Notes.—(A) There is no good Commentary on Exodus on the Hebrew text for English readers. A new edition of Beer and Galling is in preparation.

### LEVITICUS

(A) A. BERTHOLET (*K.H.C.*) [1901] in German.

(B) A. T. CHAPMAN and A. W. STREANE (*Camb.B.*) [1914].

Notes.—(A) We are particularly short of good Commentaries on Leviticus. A more



recent German Commentary is by P. Heinisch (*H.S.A.Tes.*) [1935].

(B) The Commentary by Nathaniel Micklem (*I.B.*) [1953] might be consulted.

## NUMBERS

(A) G. B. GRAY (*I.C.C.*) [1903].

(B) L. E. BINNS (*West.C.*) [1927].

Notes.—(B) Commentary of G. E. Wright (*I.B.*) [1953] will be found valuable.

## DEUTERONOMY

(A) S. R. DRIVER (*I.C.C.*)<sup>2</sup> [1896].

(B) G. A. SMITH (*Camb.B.*) [1918]

Notes.—(B) The Commentary of G. E. Wright (*I.B.*) [1953] will be found valuable.

## JOSHUA

(A) M. NOTH (*H.A.T.*)<sup>2</sup> [1953] in German.

(B) G. A. COOKE (*Camb.B.*) [1918].

Notes.—(A) There is no good Commentary for English readers. Noth's Commentary is especially valuable for its archaeological material.

(B) J. Bright (*I.B.*) [1953] is also to be noted.

## JUDGES

(A) C. F. BURNEY, *The Book of Judges*<sup>2</sup> [1920].

(B) G. A. COOKE (*Camb.B.*) [1913].

Notes.—(A) G. F. Moore (*I.C.C.*)<sup>2</sup> [1898] is also still valuable as a Commentary on the Hebrew Text. M. J. Lagrange (*É.B.*) [1903] in French might be consulted.

## RUTH

(A) M. HALLER (*H.A.T.*) [1940] in German.

(B) G. A. COOKE (*Camb.B.*) [1913].

Notes.—(A) P. Joüon *Ruth* [1924], in French also recommended.

## 1 SAMUEL and 2 SAMUEL

(A) H. P. SMITH (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) A. R. S. KENNEDY (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

Notes.—(A) S. R. Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*<sup>2</sup> [1913] is invaluable for the textual criticism of these books. H. W. Hertzberg (*A.T.D.*) [1956] is useful.

(B) G. B. Caird (*I.B.*) [1953] is also to be noted and A. F. Kirkpatrick (*Camb.B.*) [1930].

## 1 KINGS and 2 KINGS

(A) J. A. MONTGOMERY and H. S. GEHMAN (*I.C.C.*) [1951].

(B) J. SKINNER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

Notes.—(A) C. F. Burney's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* [1903] is also valuable.

(B) N. H. Snaith (*I.B.*) [1954] should be noted.

## 1 CHRONICLES and 2 CHRONICLES

(A) E. L. CURTIS and A. A. MADSEN (*I.C.C.*) [1910].

(B) W. A. L. ELMSLIE (*Camb.B.*)<sup>2</sup> [1916].

Notes.—(A) Readers of German will value Rothstein-Hänel (*K.A.T.*) i. [1927] and a more up-to-date Commentary—W. Rudolph (*H.A.T.*) [1955].

(B) A more recent Commentary is Elmslie (*I.B.*) [1954].

## EZRA and NEHEMIAH

(A) L. W. BATTEN (*I.C.C.*) [1913].

(B) H. E. RYLE (*Camb.B.*) [1893].

Notes.—(A) Readers of German will find a more up-to-date Commentary in W. Rudolph (*H.A.T.*) [1949].

(B) Ryle should be supplemented by R. A. Bowman (*I.B.*) [1954].

## ESTHER

(A) L. B. PATON (*I.C.C.*) [1908].

(B) A. W. STREANE (*Camb.B.*) [1907].

Notes.—(A) Readers of German will find a more recent Commentary in M. Haller (*H.A.T.*) [1940].

## JOB

(A) S. R. DRIVER and G. B. GRAY (*I.C.C.*) [1921].

(B) A. S. PEAKE (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

Notes.—(A) For those who read French P. Dhorme (*É.B.*) [1926] is the best.

(B) A. B. Davidson (*Camb.B.*) [1884] is the second choice. S. Terrien (*I.B.*) [1954] is a valuable recent Commentary.

## PSALMS

(A) H. GUNKEL (*H.K.A.T.*) [1926] in German.

(B) A. F. KIRKPATRICK (*Camb.B.*) [1902].

Notes.—(A) There is no good modern commentary on the Hebrew text in English, though W. O. E. Oesterley's *The Psalms*, 2 vols. [1939] has value. Gunkel's work is



marred by excessive emendation, but is otherwise an outstanding Commentary. It should be supplemented by A. Weiser (*A.T.D.*)<sup>4</sup> [1955]. Readers of French may value J. Calès, *Le Livre des Psaumes*, 2 vols. [1936] or E. Podechard, *Le Psautier*, 3 parts incomplete [1949-54].

(B) Kirkpatrick is a first-class piece of work, which, within its range, remains unsurpassed.

### PROVERBS

(A) C. H. Toy (*I.C.C.*) [1899].

(B) W. O. E. OESTERLEY (*West.C.*) [1929].

Notes.—(A) Readers of German will value the Commentary of B. Gemser (*H.A.T.*) [1937].

(B) C. T. Fritsch (*I.B.*) or T. T. Perowne (*Camb.B.*) [1916] or G. C. Martin (*Cent.B.*) may be used.

### ECCLESIASTES

(A) G. A. BARTON (*I.C.C.*) [1908].

(B) A. LUKYN-WILLIAMS (*Camb.B.*) [1922].

Notes.—(A) A recent Jewish Commentary on the Hebrew text, R. Gordis, *Koheleth—the Man and His World*<sup>2</sup> [1955], will be found of value and A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes* [1904], may be consulted. In German K. Galling (*H.A.T.*) [1940] is useful.

(B) O. S. Rankin (*I.B.*) [1956] recommended.

### SONG OF SOLOMON

(A) M. HALLER (*H.A.T.*) [1946] in German.

(B) A. HARPER (*Camb.B.*) [1902].

Notes.—(A) L. Waterman, *The Song of Songs* (Univ. of Michigan Press), and, in French, P. Joüon, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* [1909], are useful.

(B) All English Commentaries are very antiquated save T. J. Meek (*I.B.*) [1956].

### ISAIAH

(A) G. B. GRAY (*I.C.C.*) [1912] on chs. 1-27 only. R. LEVY, *Deutero-Isaiah* [1925] on chs. 40-55 only.

(B) J. SKINNER (*Camb.B.*) [1896-98], 2 vols.

Notes.—(A) There is no satisfactory Commentary in English on the complete Book in the Hebrew text. In German B. Duhm (*H.K.A.T.*)<sup>4</sup> [1922] may be consulted. O. Procksch, *Isaiah I* (*K.A.T.*) [1930] and P. Volz, *Isaiah II* (*K.A.T.*) [1932], are good Commentaries.

(B) G. W. Wade (*West.C.*) [1911] and O. C. Whitehouse (*Cent.B.*), 2 vols. will be

found valuable—Whitehouse especially for its Assyrian and Babylonian material. R. B. Y. Scott and J. Muilenburg (*I.B.*) [1956] may be recommended.

### JEREMIAH

(A) W. RUDOLPH (*H.A.T.*) [1947] in German.

(B) A. S. PEAKE (*Cent.B.*) 2 vols. [undated].

Notes.—(A) There is no good Commentary in English on the Hebrew text. In German there are a number, including P. Volz (*K.A.T.*) [1928] and A. Weiser (*A.T.D.*) [1952].

(B) Peake's Commentary is one of the best in the whole Century Bible. L. Elliott Binns (*West.C.*) [1919] is also good, as is J. P. Hyatt (*I.B.*) [1956]. While it is not a Commentary, J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion* [1922], is an invaluable interpretation of the prophet.

### LAMENTATIONS

(A) M. HALLER (*H.A.T.*) [1940] in German.

(B) A. S. PEAKE (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

Notes.—(A) In German W. Rudolph (*K.A.T.*) [1939] and H. J. Kraus (*B.K.*) [1956] might also be consulted.

(B) N. K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* [1954], will be found very useful.

### EZEKIEL

(A) G. A. COOKE (*I.C.C.*) [1936].

(B) A. B. DAVIDSON and A. W. STREANE (*Camb.B.*) [1916].

Notes.—(A) G. Fohrer and K. Galling (*H.A.T.*) [1955] will supplement Cooke.

(B) H. G. May (*I.B.*) [1956] will be found useful. W. F. Lofthouse (*Cent.B.*) may be consulted.

### DANIEL

(A) J. A. MONTGOMERY (*I.C.C.*) [1927].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Camb.B.*) [1900].

Notes.—(A) R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, might be consulted. The German Commentary by A. Bentzen (*H.A.T.*)<sup>2</sup> [1952] will be a useful supplement.

(B) Though Driver's Commentary is now old, it is still invaluable. It might be supplemented by A. Jeffery (*I.B.*) [1956].

### HOSEA

(A) W. R. HARPER (*I.C.C.*) [1910].

(B) T. K. CHEYNE (*Camb.B.*) [1884] and S. L. BROWN (*West.C.*) [1932].



*Notes.*—(A) The *I.C.C.* volume covers Amos and Hosea. Almost all Commentaries on the Minor Prophets in English are old. Readers of French will find much of value in A. van Hoonacker (*É.B.*) though this too is now old. Readers of German may value E. Sellin (*K.A.T.*)<sup>2</sup> [1929], or Robinson-Horst (*H.A.T.*)<sup>2</sup> [1954], or Weiser-Elliger (*A.T.D.*)<sup>2,3</sup> [1956].

(B) The two Commentaries received equal votes. J. Mauchline (*I.B.*) [1956] is recommended.

## JOEL

(A) J. A. BEWER (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER and H. C. O. LANCHESTER (*Camb.B.*) [1915].

*Notes.*—(A) The *I.C.C.* volume covers Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel. See also on Hosea.

(B) G. W. WADE (*West.C.*) [1925] is also recommended. This Commentary covers Micah, Obadiah, Joel and Jonah.

## AMOS

(A) W. R. HARPER (*I.C.C.*) [1910].

(B) S. R. DRIVER and H. C. O. LANCHESTER (*Camb.B.*) [1915].

*Notes.*—(A) A modern Commentary recommended is R. S. Cripps, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos*<sup>2</sup> [1955]. This will be found useful also by general readers. See also on Hosea.

## OBADIAH

(A) J. A. BEWER (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) G. W. WADE (*West.C.*) [1925].

*Notes.*—(B) H. C. O. LANCHESTER, *Obadiah and Jonah* (*Camb.B.*) [1915], also recommended.

## JONAH

(A) J. A. BEWER (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) G. W. WADE (*West.C.*) [1925].

*Notes.*—(A) This *I.C.C.* volume covers Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah. See also on Hosea.

(B) H. C. O. LANCHESTER (*Camb.B.*) [1915] also recommended.

## MICAH

(A) J. M. P. SMITH (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) G. W. WADE (*West.C.*) [1925].

*Notes.*—(A) See on Hosea.

## NAHUM

(A) J. M. P. SMITH (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

*Notes.*—(A) See on Hosea.

(B) A. B. DAVIDSON (*Camb.B.*) [1920]. This volume covers Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah. G. G. V. Stonehouse, *The Books of the Prophets Zephaniah and Nahum* (*West.C.*) [1929], should also be noted.

## HABAKKUK

(A) W. H. WARD (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

*Notes.*—(A) P. Humbert, *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc* [1944], will be found of value. A recent German Commentary, which takes account of the readings of the Dead Sea Scrolls, is that of F. Horst (*H.A.T.*)<sup>2</sup> [1954]. See on Hosea.

(B) See on Nahum.

## ZEPHANIAH

(A) J. M. P. SMITH (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

*Notes.*—(A) See on Hosea.

(B) See on Nahum.

## HAGGAI

(A) H. G. MITCHELL (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

*Notes.*—(A) See on Hosea.

(B) D. Winton Thomas (*I.B.*) [1956] should be noted. W. E. Barnes (*Camb.B.*) [1917] might also be noted. This volume covers also Zechariah and Malachi.

## ZECHARIAH

(A) H. G. MITCHELL (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

*Notes.*—(A) See on Hosea.

(B) D. Winton Thomas on chs. 1-8 and R. C. Dentan on chs. 9-14 (*I.B.*) [1956] should be noted. W. E. Barnes (*Camb.B.*) [1917] might be noted. See also on Haggai.

## MALACHI

(A) J. M. P. SMITH (*I.C.C.*) [1912].

(B) S. R. DRIVER (*Cent.B.*) [undated].

*Notes.*—(A) A voluminous Commentary in German is by A. von Bulmerincq, *Kommentar zum Buche des Propheten Maleachi* [1932] (Introduction published in 1926 separately). See also on Hosea.

(B) See also on Haggai.



# A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel<sup>1</sup>—I.

BY PROFESSOR OSCAR CULLMANN, D.D., BASLE

If the hypothesis I suggest to you in this paper is correct, it will have consequences not only for the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel but for our understanding of the origins of Christianity. The historiography of the origins of Christianity has long been dominated by a scientific dogma from which we should free ourselves. It is the so-called Tübingen school, inspired by the philosophy of Hegel, which is responsible for it. According to this dogma, with its scheme of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, there existed at the beginning of Christianity the community of Jerusalem, completely dominated by Jewish theology and especially by Jewish hopes; later, through contact with the Hellenistic world, a very different kind of Christianity was supposed to have arisen—Gentile-Christianity. Early Catholicism would then represent the synthesis. It is true that all modern historians who have to do with the New Testament are accustomed as a matter of principle to dissociate themselves from this school. It is almost a matter of good form to reject everything schematic and exaggerated in this position. Nevertheless, almost all modern scholars studying the origins of Christianity retain the general thesis of this school, according to which there were only two trends in primitive Christianity—Jewish-Christianity of the earliest time, located in Palestine, and Gentile-Christianity of later origin, located outside Palestine in the sphere of Hellenism. All the standard works devoted to the history or theology of the first Christians are dominated by this scheme. Much credit belongs to Wilhelm Bousset and Rudolf Bultmann for having shown in their works the existence of a movement of thought which is Oriental and yet Hellenistic, which they call pre-Christian gnosticism. They admit a certain influence of this movement on Judaism prior to Christianity, but their general manner of portraying the development of primitive Christianity and especially of its theological ideas remains in spite of everything completely dominated by this outlook: first Jewish-Christianity in Palestine, then Hellenized Christianity outside Palestine. Especially the conception of the origin of the Fourth

Gospel suffers from this schematization. It is true that the Commentary on John by Bultmann, as well as that by Barrett, takes fully into account the syncretism spread throughout Syria and Palestine. But as long as the alternative is maintained—Jewish-Christianity of the primitive community or Hellenistic Christianity of the later mission churches—it is inevitable that the thought of John be included in the second category, and then we are left with what has been called the *Johannine enigma*. For this enigma arises out of the fact that we have to do there with a type of Christianity which is different from that which we know through the Synoptic Gospels, but at the same time also from that of the Gentile Christian mission churches which we encounter in the letters of Paul. The schematization, Palestinian Jewish-Christianity—Hellenistic Gentile-Christianity, does not allow the enigma to be resolved. We shall see that it is precisely the Fourth Gospel which proves that this scheme is too narrow, for it contains incontestably Hellenistic elements, and yet at the same time it is closely related precisely to those Jewish and Jewish-Christian currents which we know particularly well, thanks to the recent discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Consequently, this type of Christianity did not arise only at a late period but must have *co-existed* with the more common type represented by the Synoptic Gospels. I do not say that the Gospel of John itself is as old as the Synoptics. Rather do I say: the type of Christianity represented by John's Gospel is as old as that represented by Synoptic Christianity. These two types of Christianity must both go back to the very origins of Palestinian Christianity. For we shall see that they correspond to two types of *Judaism* which existed in Palestine at the time of Jesus. Palestinian Judaism of the time of the New Testament was not at all so homogeneous as we are tempted to believe. At the end of the first century in Palestine there existed on the one hand the official Judaism, and on the other hand a more or less nonconformist Judaism which already included Hellenistic elements. It is therefore incorrect to distinguish only Palestinian Judaism and the Hellenistic Judaism of the Dispersion. Palestinian Judaism itself was not the homogeneous entity it had been thought to be. The two types of primitive Christianity in Palestine correspond to two types of Palestinian Judaism.

<sup>1</sup> A number of footnotes were included in the original French article in the *Journal of the New Testament Society*, and readers wishing to see them are referred to that Journal.



For a long time, and quite apart from the discoveries of Qumran, it has been admitted that Christianity could not be connected with *official* Judaism, but rather with a more or less *nonconformist* branch of Palestinian Judaism from the end of the first century B.C., but the inferences which this fact entails for the manner of depicting the origins of Christianity have never been drawn.

Already in my book on the pseudo-Clementine literature—those curious Jewish-Christian writings which are partly very old and whose oldest source, the 'Preachings of Peter' (*Kerygmata Petrou*) has preserved elements coming from the Jewish-Christianity of the primitive community—I maintained, almost thirty years ago, the thesis that there existed in *Palestine* (I insist on this point) on the fringe of Judaism a sort of Jewish gnosticism which could be considered as the cradle of Christianity. Formerly it had been thought that gnosticism had only later come into contact with Christianity, in the surroundings of pagan Hellenism outside Palestine. But the simple fact that, where we see gnosticism appearing for the first time in Christian writings which oppose it, this gnosticism is closely linked to Judaism proves that the former conception of gnosticism is false. It was therefore rightly attacked already by Bousset in his controversy with Harnack. The first traces of a Christian gnosticism make us acquainted precisely with a *Jewish-Christian gnosticism*. This is the case with the gnostic heresy which the letters of the New Testament attack, and especially with the gnosticism which Ignatius of Antioch opposes. The gnosticism of the letters of Ignatius, which we know a bit better than that which is attacked in the New Testament, has a very marked Jewish character. Finally there are the pseudo-Clementine 'Preachings of Peter' of which we have spoken, which are at once very Jewish and very gnostic.

There was a Jewish gnosticism long before there was a Christian gnosticism. We are able to prove this to-day by the discovery of the texts of Qumran. The conclusion which I had drawn about the existence of a very old *Jewish-Christianity* with gnostic tendencies has therefore been confirmed. Primitive Christianity has its very roots in a Judaism which I shall call for lack of a better name 'nonconformist'. I do not think that the arguments of del Medico, Cecil Roth, and G. R. Driver have shaken the general thesis adopted by the great majority of competent scholars, such as Father de Vaux, Kuhn, Dupont-Sommer, Brownlee, and Burrows, according to which the sect of Qumran represents a Jewish group very closely related if not identical with the Essenes described by Josephus and Philo. This thesis of the existence of a nonconformist Judaism, which has now been confirmed, is of great import for the comprehension of

primitive Christianity. Because already this Jewish gnosticism shows a Hellenistic or syncretistic influence, the whole problem of the relation between Judaism and Hellenism, between Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity must be approached in another fashion from that to which we are accustomed.

As soon as Hellenistic influences were discovered in a writing of the New Testament, it was concluded, until the present, almost automatically that the conceptions in question must be of a late origin. This especially concerns the thought of the Fourth Gospel. It would be impossible to deny that it contains Hellenistic elements (beside Jewish elements which have been established even in the language of the gospel, which contains many Aramaisms). It has become one of those scientific dogmas that because of these Hellenistic elements the origin of the Fourth Gospel's theology must be sought far from the area of Palestine and set at a relatively late date, for according to this opinion the influence of Hellenism on Christianity is conceivable only at a period sufficiently removed from the origins. This is the opinion which I shall try to call into question in this paper. I am not sure at all that the Hellenistic elements of the Fourth Gospel have necessarily a late and non-Jewish origin from outside Palestine.

I have tried to show elsewhere that the Fourth Gospel has its roots in this nonconformist Judaism, but I shall not be able here to touch on all the points of this demonstration. J. A. T. Robinson has shown the connexion between the Fourth Gospel and John the Baptist. Odeberg has shown the connexion of the Fourth Gospel with a certain Jewish mysticism. As for that which concerns the Fourth Gospel and Qumran, Kuhn has already called attention to their relationship, and Father Braun has carried it out in detail in the *Revue Biblique*. I shall try to show above all that Johannine Christianity is not at all the isolated phenomenon within primitive Christianity itself that it has been thought to be, but that on the contrary there is a close relationship, for example, between the Johannine group and the group of Stephen, which Acts calls the Palestinian Hellenists (Ac 6-8). We are told in these chapters that they had a very special theology, that one of them, Stephen, suffered martyrdom and that his followers were persecuted and had to leave Jerusalem. After this persecution they became the first Christian missionaries, founding the mission in Samaria. There is a relationship between this group and the Johannine group. The same is true of the Johannine group and the environment from which the Epistle to the Hebrews came.

In order to prove that we have here a whole movement with a common mode of thought, I shall

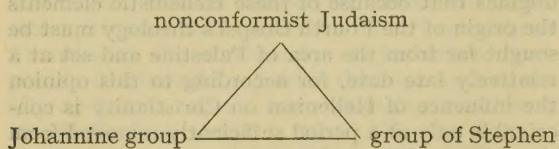


try to bring out the fact that these currents of primitive Christianity (the Johannine writings, the group of Stephen, Hebrews) not only form a certain unity among themselves, but that *each of them* stands in a close relationship with that surrounding Judaism which I have called nonconformist.

The proof should, therefore, always take place in three steps, so to speak :

(1) The demonstration of a relationship between Johannine Christianity and the group of Stephen (the Hellenists) ; (2) the demonstration of a relationship between Johannine Christianity and nonconformist Judaism ; and (3) the demonstration of a relationship between the group of Stephen (the Hellenists of Acts) and nonconformist Judaism.

There is therefore a sort of triangular relationship which may be represented in the following diagram:



Actually the connexions are much more complicated than this, for one must also distinguish between different currents within esoteric Judaism, some of which agree more with Johannine Christianity and some more with the Hellenists of Acts. I could show this relationship on different grounds. Here I shall limit myself to a single question, the attitude with regard to the *temple*, in order to prove the triangular relation which I want to establish in order to demonstrate that the Johannine group was related not to official but to nonconformist Judaism. The relationship which I believe can be found here seems to me to confirm the thesis according to which the Johannine current is just as old within primitive Christianity as the Synoptic current, but is linked up with a different *Jewish* Palestinian current from that with which the Synoptic Gospels are connected.

I shall begin with a distinction which the Book of Acts itself makes between two currents which existed in the primitive Christianity of Jerusalem, the distinction between Hebrews and Hellenists, which must have existed already within Palestinian *Judaism*. I shall not go into detail on all the questions concerning the group of Stephen. We shall consider them here especially under the aspect of their attitude to the temple.

We find as a matter of fact that there existed within the primitive Christianity of Palestine a particular group which represented a quite different nuance from the type of Christianity which we know from the Synoptic Gospels. And nevertheless it is not Paulinism with which we have to do here. That Stephen and his partisans represent a

type on their own is already evident from the fact that the Jews did not treat them in the same way as the other Christians of Jerusalem. *They were persecuted*. Acts 8<sup>1</sup> tells us expressly that they had to flee Jerusalem when the others could stay. They seem to have been forgotten very soon in the Early Church, and the historiography even to the present day is unjust towards them. This type of Christianity represented by Stephen and his group did not have its origin outside Palestine, and we meet it therefore in Palestine itself. It is true that the Book of Acts speaks of 'Hellenists', and this rather unfortunate term adds to the confusion. In general it has been thought that these '*Ἑλληνισταί*' of Ac 6 were simply Greek-speaking Jews, as the '*Ἑβραῖοι*' would have been Aramaic-speaking Jews. However we have no document which attests to this meaning of the term. The word is derived from the verb *ἐλληνίζειν*, which does not mean to speak Greek, but to live after the manner of the Greeks. The essential characteristic of this group is not the fact that several of its members originated from the Dispersion, or that they were proselytes, as is often said. The fact that one of the seven only, Nicolas, is called a proselyte proves precisely that the others were not proselytes and that this is not in any case the distinctive mark of this group.

In Ac 11<sup>20</sup> it is said that several of them were from the Dispersion, but this is also not their characteristic element. Barnabas, who came from Cyprus and who also belonged to the Jerusalem community, is not called a 'Hellenist'; the Apostle Paul, to whom this appellation would perhaps apply if it referred to origin from the Dispersion, never calls himself a 'Hellenist'. In order to get an idea of the difficulties scholars have when they wish to explain exactly who the Hellenists of the primitive community of Jerusalem were, it is only necessary to read the excursus devoted to this question in Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*.

These 'Hellenists' must have existed already as a group, or formed part of a group, within *Judaism*. It must then be considered whether it is not a question of a group of former Jews, different from the official Judaism and representing more or less nonconformist tendencies of syncretistic origin. Several among them could no doubt have come from the Dispersion, but this does not seem to have been the distinctive trait of the group. The author of Acts did not have an appropriate term at hand to designate them collectively. And since this Judaism showed syncretistic traits and contained elements of foreign origin, they were called for lack of a better term Hellenists. We must not forget that '*Ἕλληνες*' was often the term Jews used to designate everything which was not Jewish. We



ourselves have had difficulty in finding a term which would include all these Jewish tendencies which I have called—also for lack of anything better—nonconformist.

We must not attach too much importance to the term: what is important are the ideas and the history of the group. Unfortunately, Stephen did not leave behind any writing. It is therefore difficult to form a *precise* idea of the theological conceptions of this group which was so important for the primitive community. We have only the speech of Stephen in Ac 7, and in the speeches of the Book of Acts we find inevitably the influence of the ideas of Luke, who did not belong to this group. However, the speech of Stephen contains such characteristic ideas, which are so distinctive from the other ideas of the Book of Acts, that we must admit that the author is using here a direct source coming from the group.

A Dutch author has recently shown the parallels between this speech and the Manual of Discipline of Qumran. Many details and especially the general intention of the thesis of Stephen, which is to show that the *Jews have always resisted the divine law*, are found in the Qumran sect, which regards the two spirits at work in Israel in a similar perspective. We shall soon speak of that which Stephen considers the height of the Jewish resistance to the Holy Spirit: the construction of the temple. By his rejection of the temple, Stephen advocates implicitly, as we shall see, a worship in spirit, in which the community is the temple. We shall soon see that although this radical attitude with regard to the temple and its sacrifices is not that of the Qumran sect, nevertheless it is plainly prepared for by Qumran.

We can mention here besides the fact that Stephen calls Jesus the Son of Man, a notion which was current in this nonconformist Judaism. There seems to be therefore a connexion between Stephen and his group on the one hand and certain currents of nonconformist Judaism on the other.

But there is a relationship, too, between Stephen and the Johannine group. Aside from the question of the temple of which we are about to speak, is there really a connexion between Johannine Christianity and Stephen and his followers? We must first investigate this question.

On the first view, one could be tempted to answer this question in the negative. And nevertheless the connexion here seems to me to be particularly close. In an earlier article I have tried to show that the Fourth Gospel is especially interested in the Hellenists, and even more: that it tries to rehabilitate these Hellenists, so to speak, and to give them the justice which is due them. For they were forgotten relatively soon, and we have seen the consequences all the way down to

modern historiography. The Fourth Gospel rehabilitates them. I believe that this is the meaning of ch. 4<sup>88</sup>, that passage in the Johannine account of the Samaritan woman which is so difficult to explain: Jesus insists there on the fact that not the Twelve, but others (*ἄλλοι*) had founded the mission in Samaria, and that the apostles had only *afterwards* entered into the work of the *ἄλλοι*. The context speaks of the encounter of Jesus with the Samaritan woman. Their conversation gives Him the occasion to speak on the one hand of the true worship, 'in spirit and in truth', which is opposed both to the official Jewish worship of the Temple of Jerusalem and to the Samaritan worship on Mount Gerizim (we shall come back to this point), and on the other hand it gives Him the occasion to speak of the founding of the future mission in Samaria. Samaria had a special religion which was half Jewish, half pagan. The Samaritans recognized only the five books of Moses and rejected the prophets. They did not recognize the temple of Jerusalem but worshipped God in their own sanctuary on the Mount Gerizim. The missionary work among these Samaritans had been considered by many Christians to be problematic in this half-Jewish country, which did not belong to the Jewish community, even more because the opponents of this mission believed no doubt that they could appeal to a saying of Jesus which we find in Mt 10<sup>6</sup>: 'Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not'. The Fourth Gospel wants to show that Jesus wanted the mission in Samaria to be accomplished after His death, that mission of which He had laid the foundation by Jacob's well, and that the *Hellenists* had begun this mission.

The verses which interest us for the moment are found in the epilogue of the story, in vv. 31 ff. Jesus here uses the images of the field, the sowing, the harvest. These images are applied to the mission. It is first said (v. 36b) that he who sows and he who reaps will rejoice together. But v. 37 adds that the proverb is nevertheless correct which says that 'one soweth and another reapeth'. This is true on condition that one does not forget what the preceding verses have said, namely that it is all the same *Christ* who is behind those who reap in Samaria. There follows v. 38b, which concerns our question directly: '*other men laboured, and ye [the twelve apostles] are entered into their labours*'. Between Christ who sows and the apostles who reap, therefore, a third category has been introduced—the *others* who work in Samaria before the apostles. Who are these *ἄλλοι*? According to the context, which speaks of the mission in Samaria, it can only be a question of missionaries who had cleared the way for the apostles in Samaria. (See *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1961, p. 101.)



I am convinced that the Book of Acts gives us the answer. Chapter 8 recounts, as we have seen, that the missionary work in Samaria was begun by the Hellenists, in particular by Philip, one of the seven, after their persecution, and that only afterwards the apostles Peter and John literally 'entered' into their field of work. Here is what we read in 8<sup>14</sup>: 'Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John'. These two apostles had therefore only to 'reap' in Samaria, where the real work had been already accomplished by these ἄλλοι, the Hellenists, partisans of Stephen, for the most part anonymous.

The author of the Fourth Gospel had a particular interest, and this is what I try to show first, in these valiant first missionaries of Samaria. He gives them the honour which is due them in underlining their rôle as initiators of the preaching of the gospel among the Samaritans, who rejected the worship of the temple as they did. He is interested in their work, and he is interested in

the country in which they worked. That is why he is the only one to report the encounter between Jesus and the woman of Samaria, an encounter which prefigures the future mission.

This interest can only be explained by a very close connexion between the Hellenists and our author, or let us say, between the Hellenists and the Johannine group. This Johannine group must have had a connexion on the one hand with Qumran and John the Baptist as I show elsewhere; now we add, also with Stephen's group. It is the least that can be said. But perhaps we can be more bold and at least ask the question (I admit that it is only an hypothesis!), whether the author of the Fourth Gospel, probably a former disciple of John the Baptist, did not himself belong to the same group of the Jerusalem community to which Stephen belonged?

I would not dare to go so far if the essential idea of Stephen's speech were not, as I shall show, also an essential idea for the Fourth Gospel: *the opposition to the temple worship*, or rather, the spiritualization of the temple worship.

(In Part II of this article Professor Cullmann will further discuss this opposition to the temple worship of non-conformist groups within Judaism, and their relationship to Stephen and the 'Hellenists', and the possibility that the author of the Fourth Gospel originally belonged to their circle.)

## Literature

T. W. MANSON

THE name of T. W. Manson is known to every student of the New Testament. He was recognized as one of the outstanding scholars of our day. As teacher and author he has placed a vast number of present-day ministers in the Christian Church deeply in his debt. As his retirement drew near a number of 'studies' were written by pupils, colleagues and friends, to be presented to him as a kind of *Festschrift* on his sixty-fifth birthday. The material was already complete and ready for the publisher when to our great sorrow Professor Manson died on 1st May, 1958. The volume, therefore, has had to appear as 'studies in memory of Thomas Walter Manson, 1893-1958'. It bears the title, *New Testament Essays*, and is edited by Dr. A. J. B. Higgins. It is published by the Manchester University Press at 42s. net.

Twenty-one distinguished scholars contribute to this remarkable book, which no student of the New Testament can afford to miss. C. K. Barrett discusses the 'ransom' saying of Jesus (Mk 10<sup>45</sup>) and challenges the commonly accepted opinion that its thought-forms are derived from Is 53. M. Black

provides arguments for believing that the Arrest and Trial of Jesus were not in fact compressed into so short a period of time as the account in the Gospels implies. R. Bultmann (in German) considers the question of sources behind Acts. O. Cullmann (in French) questions whether our Lord's commendation of Peter as 'the Rock' can have been spoken at the same time as His designation of him as 'Satan', and seeks a more appropriate occasion. C. H. Dodd writes about the Primitive Catechism and the Sayings of Jesus, and A. J. B. Higgins about the different interpretations of the title 'Son of Man', which have appeared in print since Manson's own book, 'The Teaching of Jesus', put forward a striking suggestion about its significance. J. Jeremias (in German) deals with the sending out of messengers in pairs, as this is found in various parts of the Bible. C. F. D. Moule, under the title, 'The Intention of the Evangelists', argues strongly that the Gospels aim to preserve history, and not merely to express faith, and H. G. Wood's article on 'Didache, Kerygma and Evangelion' presents a similar point of view. B. Reicke deals with 'Worship in the New Testament', and H. Riesenfeld (in French) with the



process which led to the celebration of the Lord's Day on a different day from that of the Jewish Sabbath. H. H. Rowley has an article on the baptism of John and the Qumran sect, and E. Schweizer on the Church in the Johannine writings. V. Taylor writes about 'Q', not only to re-affirm its existence as against recent authors who have denied it, but also to argue that its contents and their order can be in part recovered.

Other articles on more restricted themes, though not less interesting, discuss the indebtedness of 2 Peter to 1 Peter, the words in Palestinian Syriac related to the word 'Gospel', the significance of 'the Word of God' in Hebrews, the meaning of 'visit Cephas' in Gal 1<sup>18</sup> and of 'one born out of due time' in 1 Co 15<sup>8</sup>, the argument of Ro 1-8 in relation to the nationality of its first readers, and the background of the familiar liturgical formula: 'The Lord be with you'.

The whole Christian Church has been greatly enriched by the brilliant expository gifts of T. W. Manson, and the world of scholarship owes him a lasting debt for the width of his knowledge and the acuteness of his discernment, for the freshness of his approach to old problems and the lucidity with which his contributions to learning are expressed. It would be well-nigh impossible to produce a tribute really worthy of one of such outstanding gifts, but this volume is not unworthy of the one it seeks to honour.

C. L. MITTON

### THE NICENE CREED

Professor Emeritus John Burnaby's commentary on the Nicene Creed, entitled *The Belief of Christendom* (S.P.C.K.; 17s. 6d. net), is a notable book for more than one reason. As a straight exposition of Christian fundamentals it is a masterpiece of writing. The prose is terse and the economy of words a continual cause for wonder. Based on lectures to theological students at Cambridge, the book has been revised to make it suitable for school teachers. So far as possible technicalities are avoided. But any one who supposes that this book is light reading or that complicated matters are over-simplified will be rapidly disillusioned. The book demands of the reader not merely unremitting attention but also some knowledge of the history of doctrine if the full force of the argument is to be appreciated. Those who know that history will find themselves continually noting not only what the author says but what he does not say.

One characteristic of the book is especially noteworthy, namely the doctrine of Revelation presupposed. The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed is chosen as gathering together the essence of the matter, and as a document accepted by both

East and West. But it is expounded not simply as authoritative in its own right, but with constant reference to the Biblical foundations. 'The doctrines of the Church, from St. Paul onwards, have been the human interpretations of an experience in which the souls of men have been confronted with the Word of God in Christ.' Orthodoxy is no matter of blind submission to allegedly infallible authorities; and the author does nothing to conceal his conviction that such infallibilities have not been granted. In a word, Professor Burnaby's dogmatics are emphatically post-liberal, both in the sense of being in some degree sympathetic to Karl Barth, fully Augustinian in the doctrine of Man and Grace, with a latent reserve over against the immanentist tendencies of nineteenth-century liberalism, and in the sense of being deeply marked with certain characteristics derived from the tradition of liberal theology. The treatment of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth is a particularly striking example of the independence of the author's mind. 'Believe it or be damned' is an attitude with which Professor Burnaby manifests no sympathy, and there is no shirking of the historical issue. The doctrines of the Atonement and of the Eucharist both receive a short section. Perhaps the former is too short; and I am not persuaded that full justice is done to the idea of Christ reconciling us to God not only in virtue of His divine nature but also in virtue of the sinless self-offering of His perfect humanity. The death of Christ as a sacrifice is excellently handled. Altogether, this is a book which no one can read without a deeper comprehension of the heart of our religion and without gratitude to the author for its grace, wisdom and understanding.

HENRY CHADWICK

### BETWEEN GOD AND HISTORY

Man, said Sir Thomas Browne, is the great amphibium, called to live in two worlds—the natural and the supernatural, the physical and the spiritual, amid things seen and temporal and things unseen and eternal. In consequence, 'man lives in an inescapable tension between two basic experiences: the more or less conscious awareness of what he is meant to be, and the knowledge of his involvement in the processes of time and the world'. How is the tension to be resolved? What are we to do with our lives?

In what seems to me a brilliant and remarkable book, *Between God and History* (Allen and Unwin; 21s. net), Richard K. Ullmann offers us a penetrating analysis of the human situation together with some challenging reflections on the kind of response now required of us. The sub-title, 'The Human Situation exemplified in Quaker Thought



and Practice', should not lead any one to suppose that here is another 'Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people in scorn called Quakers'. Richard Ullmann may, indeed, come to be the successor to Robert Barclay for our generation. In this book, however, while he is convinced that George Fox in his plea for immediate or first-hand experience of the living Christ as our inward teacher witnesses to something very vital for true religion to-day, Ullmann is challenging Friends to think out their Christian Divinity afresh. The human situation is by no means fully understood in Quaker thought and practice. The book may be described as an essay in Christian existentialism rather than as an Apology for Quakerism.

The main themes of the book are treated under two heads—'In the World and of the World' and 'Doing the Will of God'. The insistence on our being not only *in* the world but also *of* the world may seem paradoxical. To be separate from the world has seemed so obviously right that Christians generally will be inclined to reject Ullmann's contention. Did not our Lord declare that His disciples were not *of* the world even as He was not *of* the world? To follow Ullmann's argument we have to reckon with the different uses of the term world in the Fourth Gospel. The world, on the one hand, is God's creation and the object of His love, and, on the other, the world is regarded as evil and hostile. With the first meaning in mind, Ullmann insists that 'once I am born into flesh, I am of necessity of the world, not only *in* it, if only through my physical needs. So was Jesus—what else is the meaning of "incarnation"? "In" and "of" cannot but coincide for all of us to a certain extent.' To a certain extent may provide a necessary qualification, but the challenge to Pharisaism, Monasticism, Puritanism and Quakerism remains. Have we not all been tempted to contract out of the wider evil world, through an exaggerated concern for personal purity? Do we not all need to face the truth of an assertion of Karl Jaspers: 'There is no way round the world, no way round history, only a way through history'?

Being of the world as well as in it, being part of the processes of time and the world, we have to take the risks of acting in this situation if we are to become what we are meant to be. Sartre, the atheistic existentialist, would put it differently. We are not meant to be anything, but we must give meaning and value to our lives. If our lives are to be authentic, we must determine our standards and take the risks of acting on them. No traditional or conventional standards will suffice. The slave of convention or tradition is not authentic, has no genuine life of his own. The Christian existentialist is equally concerned that

we should recognize the structure of being, our inescapable involvement in the world, and the call for decision and action. But he believes that we have to discover what God means us to be, not to impose our values on our lives. We are here to do the will of God, and the problem of discovering what is the will of God for us in any given situation cannot be finally determined by a creed or an ethical code. George Fox urged his fellow-Christians not to be content to repeat orthodox creeds or to live by conventional standards. 'What canst thou say?' was his challenge. To lead authentic lives, we must take decisions in response to the spirit of Christ that directs us consistently towards truth, love and integrity. We may not neglect the past, or despise the wisdom of our forebears, but we cannot just be guided by the past. 'It would be better to speak of God *through* history rather than of God *in* history. God is encountered *through* history as an inward experience.' Richard Ullmann commends this thesis and explores the problems involved with a humility and a wisdom rooted in his own experience. In this book the thoughtful reader will find fresh light on the great issues of Christian faith and conduct.

H. G. Wood

#### NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION

PROFESSOR ALFRED WIKENHAUSER'S *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* [1952], which has been reckoned by New Testament scholars as a work of first importance the world over, has now been translated into English by Joseph Cunningham under the title *New Testament Introduction* (Herder, New York, and Nelson; 50s. net). The work is part of the fruits of Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of September 30, 1943, which deals with the promotion of Biblical Studies and has stimulated the labours of Roman Catholic scholars in the fields of Biblical research and exegesis to a remarkable degree. The *Introduction* is a fully competent and scholarly study which faces honestly the many problems which are involved. While it reflects the influence of the Roman Catholic Biblical Commission, it fully states the issues on both sides and does not hesitate to indicate points upon which opinion is still an open question. The work consists of three parts which deal with the Canon, Textual Criticism, and the origin of the New Testament writings, including a full treatment of the Synoptic problem, Form Criticism, and the epistolary methods of the ancient world. A remarkably full Bibliography is supplied and the book is well indexed. Mark is recognized as the oldest Gospel used by the other Synoptic writers, its ending in 16<sup>12-20</sup> being regarded as canonical although not an original.



and authentic part of the Gospel. A distinction is drawn between the Aramaic Logia book of Matthew and the Greek version of this book (Q) on which both the Greek Matthew and Luke depend, and the special tradition of Luke is traced to unknown sources. This might be called the Roman Catholic version of the Two Document Hypothesis and is a very different solution from that of Abbot Butler's estimate of Q as 'an unnecessary and vicious hypothesis'. The chapter on Form Criticism is particularly valuable and judicious.

The treatment of the Fourth Gospel is in some respects less satisfactory. Its apostolic authorship is accepted but the authorship of ch. 21, together with 19<sup>35</sup>, is assigned to a later disciple. Professor Wikenhauser writes: 'So this theory, which a large number of Catholic exegetes maintain, deserves serious consideration' (p. 305). All the larger questions are fully expounded. After making a full study of the literary and theological characteristics of the Gospel he writes: 'From these facts we can only infer that in reporting the discourses of Jesus the fourth Evangelist uses his own modes of thought and language, while the Synoptics retain the sayings of Jesus in their original language and form' (p. 296).

The Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse receive careful attention, with less consideration perhaps than we should desire in the case of 2 Corinthians. Altogether the book is a useful and interesting combination of critical insight with a well-balanced regard for traditional views.

VINCENT TAYLOR

### THE TOTAL CHRIST

Our divided Christendom with its stresses on different aspects of truth loses the wholeness of the gospel and so Dr. George S. Hendry, in *The Gospel of the Incarnation* (S.C.M.; 15s. net), endeavours to recall us to the total Christ. The rediscovery of the Jesus of history in the last century offered a starting point for a more rounded theology but neo-orthodoxy swept in to restore to view the ancient landmarks. Dr. Donald Baillie made magnificent protest against our losing the values of the historical movement and here in his Croall Lectures the Systematic Professor in Princeton argues that the neglect of the incarnate life of Christ is the principal cause of the fragmentation of Christian tradition.

Protestantism, while never discarding the dated formulations of the Eastern Church, pivoted rather on the work of Christ in His death. Yet a discerning mind like Calvin's betrayed occasional uneasiness that the traditional creeds passed so lightly from Galilee to Calvary as if the life and

teaching counted for little. Without losing sight of the cardinal text of Paul (1 Co 15<sup>3</sup>) can we not give fuller meaning to the Word made flesh? Incarnation was not just the single act of acceptance of our flesh but rather a progressive entering into the whole lot of sinful man and enduring it to the end. Neither the birth of Christ for us nor His death for us can be separated from His whole being for us. To think of Christ as One who came to work out some problem of justice or of punishment of sin is to deny the sufficiency of Grace. Christ did not suffer as the victim of Divine judgment; He is the victim of sin to which He delivers the drastic judgment of forgiveness. The Holy One stooped to enter into living personal relationship with men at their level and thus He placed Himself in their evil power and so endured suffering. The Son of Man came as the bearer of God's forgiving love, to dispense it to men by being 'the man for other men', the centre and nucleus through whom the demands of righteousness and the grace of forgiveness are disseminated throughout mankind. To us in centuries far off from His, the Incarnate life still comes with power through the Holy Spirit working in the Church.

To those who may suspect that this view is too subjective, not dealing adequately with the enormity of sin and the uniqueness of the Divine Act, Dr. Hendry has his answers ready. We commend alike the historical surveys, the critical analysis of modern theology, and the constructive chapters of a fresh, reasonable and persuasive statement.

JOHN DOW

### INTRODUCTION TO THE O.T.

New volumes continue to appear in the Duckworth 'Studies in Theology' series and Professor G. W. Anderson's recently published addition to the series—*A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament* (Duckworth; 12s. 6d. net)—will receive a welcome. It is a work of notable merit. In the Introduction he marks the important stages in the critical study of the Old Testament during the last hundred years which are represented by the advancement of Wellhausen's four-document theory of the composition of the Pentateuch with its implications for the older view of the inerrancy of the Scriptures and the vogue it gave to the theory of progressive revelation, the work of Gunkel and his emphasis upon the importance of literary types, the setting of the literature of the Old Testament in the context of the literature of the near-Eastern peoples, the recent emphasis upon oral tradition which preceded, and later ran concurrently with, the written documents, and upon the recent revival of writing upon Biblical theology.



The book is not a literary history of the Old Testament which begins with the earliest literary fragments extant and finishes with the latest documents, but it deals with the Old Testament material as we have it now. It, therefore, gives an introduction to each book and includes chapters on the canon of the Old Testament, literary forms and literary history, and the Old Testament in terms of the Christian revelation.

Not only does Professor Anderson give an analysis of the contents of each book, indicating its merits and summarizing its essential message or distinctive point of view, but he outlines the history of criticism of it and finds room to draw attention to recent significant writing of scholars upon it. The book is a marvel of compression, but of compression which has not been done at the expense of a loss of clarity or of literary grace and fluency. That he must have felt keenly at times the restrictions of space imposed upon him can be imagined and sometimes can be sensed; but he never wearies the reader by saying what he might have done if space had permitted. This book can be recommended without hesitation as an excellent introduction to the Old Testament, one which will stimulate further study of it and which provides at least a short bibliography for the prosecution of that study.

JOHN MAUCLINE

#### ANCIENT EDUCATION

Dr. William Barclay came to theology by way of the classics. He lectures both in New Testament and in Hellenistic Greek. His career has been marked by a practical interest in Education, and, in particular, by an eagerness to share with others his own enthusiasm for the New Testament and its setting in life. All these varied interests have contributed to his latest book—*Educational Ideals in the Ancient World* (Collins; 21s. net), which is the substance of his Kerr Lectures delivered in Trinity College, Glasgow, in 1957. The author hopes that his work will shed 'some light on one aspect—and that a most important aspect—of the life and thought of the world into which Christianity came'.

The book does not attempt a depth analysis of ancient philosophies of education, nor a comparison, other than incidental, with educational theory and practice to-day. Rather it seeks to describe—largely by allowing the Ancients to speak for themselves in their own words, or where this would take too long, by paraphrase. The number of authorities cited is almost as remarkable as in the case of Clement, to whose 'quotational copiousness' Dr. Barclay himself draws our attention. The quotations are all given in

translation so that those with little Latin and less Greek are at no disadvantage. Dr. Barclay, as readers of this Journal well know, has an eye for an appropriate citation, and here in this educational field he gives the well known with many that should be better known. Nor does he fail to produce from his sources splendid anecdotes to illustrate his themes. The author reserves for himself the limited rôle of expositor and occasional commentator. It is a pleasing pilgrimage on which he takes us through this ancient literature, and some of his comments, like that on Augustine's account of his school-days as 'not so much emotion recollected in tranquillity as it is boyhood recollected in Theology', succeed in conveying the maximum of meaning in the minimum of words.

There are chapters on Education among the Jews, in Sparta, among the Athenians, among the Romans, and on the Child in the Early Church. The two last are bridged by a necessary chapter on the Christian Attitude to Pagan Culture. A full bibliography and a good index are provided, and several appendices on such themes as the *Patria Potestas*, interesting in themselves but less suitable for treatment in the text.

Naturally, those who are interested in Christian Education would wish the last chapter longer. While direct evidence is hard to come by, it would have been good to hear at greater length what a New Testament scholar of Dr. Barclay's distinction might conjecture about early Christian nurture. Augustine's *De Catechizandis Rudibus* might also have been examined both for what it reveals of the aims and methods of a Christian teacher, and for its subsequent influence on Christian education. But with such richness already provided, it is churlish to ask for more, and anyone who wishes to have at hand the best statements on Education in the Ancient World will find this book an excellent companion.

JOHN GRAY

#### ECUMENICAL DEBATE

The Lutterworth Press deserves thanks for suggesting to Professor T. F. Torrance to gather together his substantial published contributions to points of ecumenical debate and to supplement them by other compositions on cognate subjects hitherto unprinted. Two large volumes are in view, and the first is before us—*Conflict and Agreement in the Church*: vol. I. *Order and Disorder* (45s. net).

The dedication to Karl Barth is a pointer to the author's own position, but it should be added that he is not an uncritical follower; and, indeed, such is the vastness of his knowledge and the fertility



of his mind, he already is and is likely to become increasingly an independent source of theological thought.

In this volume Professor Torrance hits out freely and confidently all round the wicket, daring Romans and Anglicans and others to catch him out. Included is the correspondence between him and the Rev. James Quinn, S.J., which enlivened the columns of *The Scotsman* in the closing months of 1957.

Professor Torrance does battle with two major errors—first, the dissolution of Christology and the displacement of Christ by man which he finds both in the older liberalism and in Bultmann, and, second, the mythologization of the Church and the obscuring of Christ by the Church which he finds in modern Roman- and Anglo-Catholicism, in the one case linked to the mythologization of the Virgin Mary and in the other hitched to a new mystique that has its supreme expression in the episcopate. He calls therefore for fresh attention to the doctrine of the Church, but even more important is it that the ecumenical movement should wrestle with profound issues of Christology and soteriology, for only when there is deep agreement in the doctrine of Christ and refusal at any point to exalt the Church as an end in itself, for Christ in everything must have the pre-eminence, is it likely that agreement will be reached where now disagreement reigns—in the doctrine of the Church.

This is a big book in more senses than one, and though it will not yield up its riches to the casual reader, yet many will wish to read it again to their profit. We look forward to the second volume which is to deal with the ministry and sacraments.

STEWART MECHIE

### THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF BAPTISM

*The Biblical Doctrine of Baptism* (St. Andrew Press; 10s. 6d. net) is offered by the Special Commission on Baptism of the Church of Scotland as a Study Document. In the light of various comments and criticisms, a sub-committee has tried to produce in a shorter and clearer form the important interim Report of 1955. There has been considerable re-ordering of the material and, though the main lines of interpretation and the conclusions remain the same, some of the more provocative assertions have been removed or toned down. Whether the compilers have succeeded in their aims may be questioned, however. Any individual or group using this document will need first to read the appendix on the approach to Biblical teaching, which appeared as the introduction to the earlier Report. It could be argued that this section and a number of other passages

required expansion rather than compression. If 'the norm of all Baptism' is the baptism of Jesus in Jordan (p. 16) and if the rite is still to convey the rich theological content set forth impressively in the section on 'The Apostolic Interpretation of Baptism', many will still feel doubtful about the adequacy of the section on 'The Place of Children in Christian Baptism'. In particular they will question the curious form of certain vital italicised sentences such as this: 'It is incredible that our Lord would have us refuse Baptism to those children whom even adult candidates for Baptism need to resemble' (p. 50). Nor will they be happy about this statement: 'In Baptism we are passive, we are baptized by another, and this is true whether we are baptized in childhood or in later years. In the Lord's Supper on the other hand, an active participation on our part is required: "This do in remembrance of Me"' (p. 54). But was our Lord's baptism a purely passive act? If passivity is an essential characteristic and the clue to the meaning of baptism, why did not Paul say: 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have had Christ put on you'? Frequently in this document, interesting and valuable as it is, the contrasts appear to be overshadowed, the assertions to be a little too dogmatic.

ERNEST A. PAYNE

The Baptist Union was formed in 1812-13, and as a prelude to the celebration of its ter-jubilee there has been issued *The Baptist Union: A Short History*, by Dr. Ernest A. Payne (Carey-Kingsgate Press; 2rs. net).

The author, already highly esteemed for his historical writing, has the advantage of being at present General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. He is thus uniquely fitted for his task and he has carried it out with notable success. It is indeed an interesting story which he has to tell, beginning with the formation in London of a General Union of Particular (or Calvinistic) Baptists, and describing changes in doctrine and outlook in response to new needs arising partly from the general social and political environment and partly, we may believe, from the leading of the Holy Spirit. The early chapters, including one on earlier efforts at union, are particularly valuable; and the chapter on the down-grade controversy seems just and admirable in tone. There are eleven appendices. Some will be useful for reference and some have a bearing on contemporary ecumenical interests. No student of recent English Church History, Baptist or not, should miss this book.

*The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation* was not the late Principal James Denney's greatest book,



but it was his last, published from his manuscript after his death. It has been reprinted after more than forty years and is now issued in a handsome volume at 17s. 6d. net by Messrs. James Clarke and Co. Dealing as it does with a central Christian theme it will not soon become out of date. Denney had admirable gifts as an expositor, among them a power of expression in lucid and often memorable words. He had moreover something to express, for he was a careful scholar and he lived under a subduing sense of the Divine realities. It is good to know that there is a demand for a work like this.

The Epworth Press has made available at 15s. net a helpful book previously published in America—*Faith for Personal Crises*, by Professor Carl Michalson, Ph.D. It might be described as a popular presentation of aspects of pastoral theology. The author deals with Anxiety, Guilt, Doubt, Vocation, Marriage, Suffering and Death—situations which demand a decision—and shows the relevance to them all of an adequate Christian faith. This book has been written out of experience and should be useful to many who are living through one or other of these personal crises.

*The Christian Heritage in Politics*, by Mr. George Thomas (Epworth Press; 8s. 6d. net), is not a historical study, as its title might suggest, but a powerful plea for Christians to become involved in party politics, and also a survey of the major political issues of our day from the point of view of Christian values. The author, who has been in Parliament for fourteen years, argues that it is no harder for a man to express his Christianity in the House of Commons than in the factory. No member of Parliament who has a deep religious conviction which prevents his supporting the party in a division need fear disciplinary action, says Mr. Thomas. That will follow only if he feels compelled to vote against his party. One wishes that more members would follow one or other of these independent courses more often.

*The Preacher's Calling to be Servant*, by the Rev. Dr. D. T. Niles (Lutterworth Press; 12s. 6d. net), is the Warrack Lectures for 1958. Those who were privileged to hear them delivered had a real spiritual experience, and readers will now understand why. The Lectures, both securely Biblical and relevant to the present day, are powerful preaching in themselves. Two brief passages will indicate the line of approach—'The Church is called to witness; that is why there are preachers. Preachers are called to be servants; that is why the Church exists in the world as a servant-community. The servants are bound together in a common love which is the basis of the Church's

fellowship.' 'The risen and ascended Lord is at work, and we are called to work with Him. This work of Christ is the basis of the preacher's calling. It determines both the nature of his task and how he will do it.' Here are no hints on the technique of preaching, but something more valuable and more needed.

*Religion and the Scientists* (S.C.M.; 5s. net) consists of lectures delivered in the University Church by seven of the leading scientists at Cambridge and edited, with a Preface, by Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark. The scientists were apparently told to say exactly what they wished; and the understanding was that no theologian would come in at the end to give an orthodox 'answer'. Two things seem to emerge clearly—first, that on matters of religion there is great variety of approach and of conclusion among scientists, and, second, that though religion and science are less obviously hostile than they once seemed to be the gulf between them remains unbridged. There is therefore a place for books like this which help towards mutual understanding if not agreement. There is a misprint on p. 7.

The latest volume in 'A Treasury of Christian Books' is *Pascal's Pensées: Selections*, translated and edited by Father M. Jarrett-Kerr, C.R. (S.C.M.; 9s. 6d. net). The selections are mainly from the famous devotional classic, but some are from Pascal's letters and notes. The editor has availed himself of recent discoveries made by French scholars which seem to arrange the material left by Pascal in an order corresponding more closely to his own intentions, and so to provide for the general reader an easier approach to the stimulating thought of this master of the spiritual life.

The latest Tyndale New Testament Commentary, on *The Acts of the Apostles*, is by Dr. E. M. Blaiklock, Professor of Classics at Auckland, New Zealand (Tyndale Press; 9s. 6d. net). The insistence that this is a *historical* commentary in no way detracts from its religious value but does ensure, as we might expect from the author, a fresh and welcome approach both in introduction (where the section on 'the world of the book' is especially good) and in comment, which follows the general Tyndale pattern and is helped by the division of the text into sixteen well entitled sections. Some may think that more needs to be said to substantiate 'a date in the neighbourhood of A.D. 62' and to explain the significance of the speeches as 'genuine reports'. All in all this volume takes a worthy place in this important series.



# The Impact of American Religion on Great Britain

BY THE REVEREND JOHNSTON R. MCKAY, T.D., B.D., GLASGOW

THE religious traveller is a familiar figure on our doorstep. Assiduously he presses his literature upon us, eagerly tries to persuade us of the truth of his doctrines, and earnestly foretells the imminence of the millennium. What is not readily realized is that he is no new figure but has been part of the religious scene in Britain for well over a hundred years. Vaguely there may be a notion of his connexion with America or the origin of his literature there may have been observed but, in the hurry to get rid of him, little attention is paid to the interest of his material or the significance of the movement he represents.

In the eighteenth century, the American colonies and later the United States were receiving most of their cultural leaders from Britain and, in a very real sense, were a cultural province of Great Britain. But even long before the nineteenth century, the intellectual independence of America was being established and native figures of genius, like Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards, had appeared. Sidney Smith once asked in a famous review the rhetorical question, 'Who reads an American book?' Before long there were to be many in his own country who read American books with excitement and interest. In the religious field there had been close contacts between Britain and America when England had provided almost all the clergy for the Episcopalian churches in the colonies. The Church of Scotland was interested in the rise of Presbyterianism and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was supporting missionaries to the North American Indians. The Independents, too, had their close links with America. The Revolution weakened but did not break these ties and there was much correspondence between the churches in each country. By the nineteenth century, the American churches were developing their own methods to meet the challenge presented by their rapidly expanding country and two institutions arose to mark American religion. They were the 'Camp Meeting' and the 'Revival'. Each of these played a great part in the development of the frontier and one was to be exported to Britain. There are obvious parallels to the American revivals in Britain but the American revival was *sui generis* and it was the revival, stimulated by a special revivalist preacher, which was to influence Britain.

There is a long list of American revivalist preachers, all of whom made their contribution to

the development of American religion and the expansion of Christianity. Their influence has been recently studied in a work by Bernard A. Weisberger—*They Gathered at the River* [Toronto, 1958]—where is given the story of the revivalists and their impact on the country. This book is sufficient in itself to show the peculiar nature of American revivalism. From a British point of view, the most familiar revivalist is D. L. Moody but there has been no objective study of his impact on this country. Many were brought up in the tradition of its great success and deep influence. While the literature is immense, there has not been undertaken, as far as I am aware, a sober estimate of the good and evil effects of that work. For evil effects there were in this country, as in America. For one thing, the revival could divide as well as unify; for another, it could break down the old theology but could not replace it with a solid substitute which would be able to counter the rising attacks of rationalism. Above all, the revivals would raise an emotional heat that would engender some strange doctrines which would multiply and attract people in Britain to follow eccentric teachings in which enthusiasm far outstripped judgment. The American influence on the 'revival' in Britain of 1858 can be clearly demonstrated. Dr. Gibson of the Irish Presbyterian Church had hastened across the Atlantic to see at first hand the events of the widespread revival of 1857; the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland had heard delegates from America tell of their experiences; and, in England, the Congregational Union was learning of the revival. Dr. and Mrs. Palmer were trying to spread its blessings among Methodists and Humphrey Jones had returned to his native Wales with the revival news. In Scotland, as in America, revivalism struck a final blow at a declining Calvinism and opened up the prospect of heaven to all who would believe. All that was required was a 'will to believe' and salvation could be assured. In the nineteenth century the assumption behind American revivalism was fairly widely established in Britain, that prayers should be made for 'showers of blessing' but the real way to obtain them was to bring in a specialist in revival technique whose presence would assure their fall.

That assumption received reinforcement from the visits of famous American revivalists to this country. At one time or another Lorenzo Dow, Asahel Nettleton, Lyman Beecher, and Charles



Finney all visited Great Britain though probably the most significant were E. P. Hammond and D. L. Moody. The visit of Charles Finney made no serious direct impression on British religious life but, indirectly, his influence was deeply felt. These visits represent what Professor Brebner has called 'the Transatlantic to-and-fro'; and Charles Finney personifies many aspects of Transatlantic influences.

The name of this evangelist is little known in this country but he has attracted increasing attention in the United States in recent years. He has great importance, not only as a revivalist, but for his indirect influence on many political movements. One of his converts and correspondents, Theodore Weld, is credited with being the main architect of the anti-slavery movement that led to the rise of militant abolitionism. Another, John Humphrey Noyes, founded one of the most famous perfectionist colonies—that at Oneida—which were such a feature of the American scene in the last century and which are familiar to readers of Nathaniel Hawthorne. He influenced the temperance movement and the struggle for women's rights and left his mark on American religious and secular life. His most significant work was done in the 'Burned-over District', so named because of the frequency and intensity of its revivals. From that district in Western New York sprang a number of movements whose impact on Britain is little known.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that the millennial hope should burn brightly in such an inflammable situation and that was what happened. Two chiliastic movements came from this area and from the excitements aroused by Finney's revivals.

The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, as the Mormons are officially called, is a peculiarly American phenomenon but its growth would not have been nearly so spectacular without the help it received from Britain and Scandinavia. Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, was born at Sharon, Vermont, on December 23, 1805 but, in 1816, his family moved to Palmyra in the heart of the 'Burned-over District'. Two modern studies are of great value. There is a full-length biography of Smith by Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie—*No Man Knows My History* [New York, 1945]; *The Mormons*, by T. F. O'Dea [Chicago, 1957], is a sympathetic and understanding study of the whole movement by a Roman Catholic sociologist. A number of strands are to be found in Mormonism as well as the millennial hope. There is the communal enterprise which led to so many, if occasionally bizarre, experiments; side by side

with this, there is the intense individualism, characteristic of the frontier and the Mormon spirit. The Mormons early turned their attention to Great Britain as a field for proselytism and, while it is essentially an American movement, Mormonism appealed to many people in Great Britain. There was here a situation which offered a favourable field for Mormon activity. After two centuries of stagnation, the population was on the move. As always the millennial hope still burned and, in places, Edward Irving had fanned it into a flame. Opportunities for educational and economic advance were limited. In both Scotland and England, there was deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the Established Church and, in England, in addition, there was the strong tradition of dissent. In 1837 arrived in England the first Mormon missionary, Heber Kimball by name, a native of Vermont and potter to trade. He had been closely associated with Joseph Smith as had also his colleague, Orson Hyde. Of interest for this study was another member of the first party, Joseph Fielding, who had been born in Bedfordshire in 1797, emigrated to Canada in 1832, and four years later became a convert to Mormonism. His brother was a Baptist minister in Lancashire where Mormon missionaries first preached. Through personal connexions like this, they established their footing in this country. Similarly in Scotland, the first missionaries were Samuel Mulliner and Alexander Wright. The former had been born in Haddington and had also gone to Canada where he became a Mormon; the latter had been born in the parish of Marnoch and had also become a Mormon in Canada. Coming to Glasgow, they moved to Edinburgh and began their missionary work there. In the neighbourhood of Glasgow public meetings were held in Anderson College, and notable converts were won. From Huntersfield, Midlothian, came Charles Nibley, later Presiding Bishop of the church, and a wealthy industrialist and financier in America; from Scotland too came David McKay, father of the present president of the church.<sup>2</sup> Closely linked with the missionary activity was the emigration scheme whereby converts were enabled to travel at advantageous rates and under good conditions to the United States. Undoubtedly religious and economic factors helped the Mormons but their figures are impressive. On Sunday, 30th March, 1851, in England and Wales, they had two hundred and twenty-two places of worship; 7,212 attended morning worship, 11,016 in the afternoon, and 15,954<sup>3</sup> in the evening. Equally impressive are

<sup>1</sup> See Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* [Ithaca, New York, 1950].

<sup>2</sup> Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain* [Salt Lake City, 1937].

<sup>3</sup> Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain: Religious Worship in England and Wales* [London, 1854].



the figures for emigration—9,478 by 1850.<sup>1</sup> While the adjustment of Utah and the Mormon Church to the new situation, involved in the grant of Statehood, led to a lessening of missionary activity, the Mormon impact must be considered as serious in the light of the numbers emigrating and of the fact that there are still to-day in Britain active Mormon communities engaged in aggressive missionary activity. There are 12,888<sup>2</sup> members in this country; in addition over 130,300 have emigrated to where

God is calling  
Calling thee from lands of woe,  
Babylon the great is falling,  
God shall all her towers o'erthrow.

A very different form of American religion appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century. The first mention of Christian Science was in an article in *The Times* in the year 1885, in which the Boston correspondent described the growth of the new cult. A few isolated students came to the British Isles in the years following. A Mrs. Laramie was active in Dublin in 1888 and, by 1890, services were being held in London. Dr. B. R. Wilson, whose unpublished thesis of London University is an invaluable study for this and other cults, says, 'The increasing influence of American ideas in Great Britain in the period in which Christian Science was growing most rapidly cannot be ignored as a contributory cause in its growth. The American had usually the prestige of modernity, and the value of novelty, which undoubtedly helped the progress of Christian Science. At its best it could be presented as liberal, tolerant, optimistic, new, emphasizing a positive attitude to life, encouraging man to enjoy God's favour. . . . It enjoyed a considerable popularity, the function of accommodating the better-to-do and the well-educated (as distinct from the intellectual) classes to a form of religious belief. It provided something of an escape from the problems of the world by its denial of the reality of sin. By its intense individualism, and stress on salvation for the individual, his direct relation to the Deity, it eschewed social action as a panacea. . . . It emphasized God's goodness'.<sup>3</sup>

The spread of Christian Science was impressive. By 1921 there were a hundred and thirteen Christian Science organizations in England of which fifty-one were churches. By 1931 the number had increased by a hundred and nine churches and a hundred and five societies. By 1951 the number had risen to a hundred and sixty-five churches and a hundred and forty-six societies. It is Dr. Wilson's opinion that 'increasing losses

and decreasing gains in the number of organizations, although as yet no net loss in number of organizations has been experienced, indicate that Christian Science has probably reached the limits of its expansion'.<sup>4</sup>

Two other movements from America deserve mention. Like Mormonism, Seventh Day Adventism sprang from the 'Burned-over District' and the excitement engendered in that area by repeated revivalism. A study of their early origins in this country is promised in the near future by one of their members but it can be expected that its methods will be something akin to that of the Mormons and that they will show the same Transatlantic contacts. Their numbers are not seriously large—nine thousand adults<sup>5</sup>—but their influence on British habits has been far larger. As Gerald Carson has shown in *Cornflake Crusade* [London, 1959], the development of modern breakfast foods is largely the work of the Seventh Day Adventist communities. While some of their dietary practices have met with little enthusiasm in this country, the influence of cereal foods has meant a revolution in the eating habits of British people. One suspects that many stout theologians, who would scorn the tenets of Adventism, are grateful for the starch reduced foods which come from the Adventists.

There is a clear line of descent from the Adventists to the Jehovah's Witnesses of whom there are just over forty-four thousand<sup>6</sup> in Britain. The movement, begun under Pastor Russell, was taken over by 'Judge' Rutherford, and is now controlled by N. H. Knorr. The aggressive missionary activity has increased their numbers from four thousand one hundred in 1914 to their present-day figure. Its rigorous discipline and vigorous propaganda is likely to win more followers in the years to come, particularly among the educationally disinherited.<sup>7</sup>

In this brief survey no attempt has been made to consider the whole impact of American religion on Britain. Enough has, however, been shown to illustrate the background of that impact and to suggest its wide pervasive influence. It is more difficult to show direct evidence of strong influence among the orthodox churches but, even there, a glance at a hymn-book will show much influence. The impact of the Social Gospel and, to-day, of its heir, Reinhold Niebuhr, is part of the considerable action of the States on British religion. There is much gain as well as loss in the 'Transatlantic-to-and-fro'.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*, 825ff.

<sup>5</sup> Information given by letter to writer.

<sup>6</sup> Information given by letter to writer.

<sup>7</sup> See H. H. Stroup, *Jehovah's Witnesses* [Oxford University Press, 1945] and Marley Cole, *Jehovah's Witnesses—The New World Society* [London, 1956].

<sup>1</sup> M. H. Cannon, in *American Historical Review*, lii., 441.

<sup>2</sup> Information given by letter to writer.

<sup>3</sup> *Social Aspects of Religious Sects: A Study of Some Contemporary Groups in Great Britain: With Special Reference to a Midland City* [London, 1955], 814, 823.



## Recent Foreign Theology

**The Messianism of the Scrolls.** A Dutch dissertation by Dr. A. S. van der Woude is devoted to the study of the *Messianic Ideas of the Qumran Sect*.<sup>1</sup> The author examines carefully all the passages in the Scrolls so far published with any Messianic import, and then turns to the Messianic ideas of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and finally surveys the origins and nature of the Messianic ideas of the Qumran community. This is an excellent and scholarly piece of work, whose sober conclusions are firmly based on the evidence, even though they are less exciting than many of the more superficial works devoted to the Scrolls have suggested. The author shows that the thought of a Davidic and a priestly head of the community is not unique with the sect, and that there was here no idea of atonement through suffering or of the resurrection of the Teacher of Righteousness. The primary position accorded to the priestly head is found to differentiate the sect from orthodox Judaism, with which, however, it stands in closer agreement than some have supposed. A vast amount of detailed work has gone into the making of this book, which will repay close study, and whose reliability in general matches its sobriety.

**Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls.** In 1955 a small international group of scholars met to discuss the Dead Sea Scrolls. The papers, followed by an abstract of the discussions that ensued, have been published in a volume entitled *The Manuscripts from the Dead Sea*.<sup>2</sup> There are eight papers in all, of which the first, reviewing the publications of texts recently issued when the Conference took place, was by Dupont-Sommer. J. van der Ploeg followed with a discussion of the verbal forms found in the Habakkuk Commentary, on the basis of which the author sought to establish the date. Bo Reicke has a form-critical study of the texts, in the course of which he suggests that the Hymns of the sect were related to their cult, and especially to their sacred meals. A. Neher turns our attention to the later writings of Judaism, and in particular the Talmud, and finds there some references to the sect of the Scrolls. O. Cullmann puts forward the interesting suggestion that the Hellenists of Ac 6 formed the link between the sect of the Scrolls and the Fourth Gospel. K. G. Kuhn directs attention

to the sacred meals of the sect, and notes both the similarities and the differences as compared with the Christian Eucharist. J. Schmidt deals with the penitential discipline of the Early Church in the light of the Scrolls, while the final paper, by J. Daniélou, is devoted to a comparison of the eschatology of the sect with that of the New Testament. Needless to say, all of the writers are not in agreement on many of the points that arose, but that makes this volume the more valuable to those who would keep abreast of the discussion on the Scrolls.

**Studies on Genesis.** The small, but very active, Dutch Old Testament Society continues to bring out volumes of studies at the rate of about one a year, under the title of *Old Testament Studies*.<sup>3</sup> The latest volume consists of *Studies on the Book of Genesis*.<sup>4</sup> It contains eight studies, of which five are in English, two in German, and one in French. The German contributions are by A. R. Hulst and N. H. Ridderbos, and are devoted to the study of the expression *בְּלִבְשֵׁי* in the Flood Story of the Priestly Code, and the first two verses of the Bible respectively. Professor Hulst ranges far beyond the Flood Story in his inquiry and concludes that in Gn 6 and 9 the term has a variety of connotations. The French article is by F. van Trigt, and it is devoted to the story of Jacob's struggle by the Jabbok. He argues that the story rests on a pre-Israelite saga of a river god, which was adopted and adapted by the Israelites. The longest contribution is by T. Jansma, and is a study of the exegesis of the Nestorian Church. This is a very learned and detailed study, resting on a wide acquaintance with the work of the early Syrian Fathers. B. Gemser has a valuable study of the conception of God in Genesis, and shows that there is here no thought of God standing over against other gods, whereas in Exodus we find such a contrast. J. Hoftijzer deals with the story of Noah's drunkenness, A. van Selms with the Canaanites in the Book of Genesis, and L. A. Snijders with the covenant with Abram. These are all interesting studies, especially that of van Selms, who shows that the attitude to the Canaanites in Genesis is less hostile than in the later books of the Pentateuch, save for the passage dealing with the curse of Noah. Altogether this is a most useful volume.

**Jeremiah's Doubt and the Son of God in the Old Testament.** For his rectorial address to the

<sup>1</sup> *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* [1957]. Van Gorcum, Assen; Fl. 17.50; cloth 19.50.

<sup>2</sup> *Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte: Colloque de Strasbourg* [1957]. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris; Fr. 500.

<sup>3</sup> *Oudtestamentische Studiën*.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xiv. [1958]. Brill, Leiden.



University of Leiden, Professor de Boer took as his subject Jeremiah's doubt,<sup>1</sup> and examined some passages from the Book of Jeremiah in which the prophet's misgivings are expressed. After noting the prophet's reluctance to accept his call, the author passes on to consider Jer 4<sup>10</sup> 12<sup>1-4</sup> 15<sup>18</sup> and 20<sup>7-9</sup>. These passages belong to the group which Skinner called 'The Confessions of Jeremiah', and they have held a fascination for all students of the prophet, who will welcome de Boer's brief study, which was addressed to a general, and not to a specialist, audience.

Another lecture by the same professor, under the title *The Son of God in the Old Testament*, has also been published.<sup>2</sup> Here the author notes the use of the term in Gn 6<sup>3</sup> for the divine beings who intermarried with women, its use in Ps 2<sup>7</sup> of the King, its use in Ex 4<sup>22</sup> of the Israelite people, and certain theophoric names, such as Abijah—Yahweh is my father. The use of the term Son of God in the New Testament does not connect naturally with any of these, at least in its significance, and Professor de Boer points to the intertestamental literature for its antecedents.

**New Testament Studies.** A series of New Testament studies by P. Gaechter bears the somewhat misleading title *Peter and His Times*.<sup>3</sup> In fact the volume contains nine learned and original studies on the New Testament, of which but two are primarily on the Apostle who gives his name to the book. The first study is on the threefold 'Feed my lambs' of Peter's rehabilitation, in which some new suggestions are advanced, while the sixth is on 'Peter in Antioch'. There is a valuable historical study of the House of Annas, and another equally valuable one on James of Jerusalem. The election of Matthias is the subject of another, and the election of the Seven in Ac 6<sup>1-6</sup> claims another. Here, in the course of an important and interesting study, it is suggested that while we are given the names of the Seven who were chosen to deal with the poor of the Hellenists, there was probably a similar body to deal with the poor of the Hebrew Christians. 'Jerusalem and Antioch' is the title of a further essay, while another is devoted to i Co 1<sup>2</sup>. The longest of the studies is the last, and it deals with some questions concerning the apostleship of Paul. To offer any summary of the four hundred and fifty pages devoted to these nine separate questions is impossible here, and it must suffice to say that the author is both a learned scholar and an acute and original thinker, from

whose pages the reader will learn much, as well as find many stimulating new ideas.

**Hamath under the Arabs.** In the years 1931-1938 a Danish expedition under Harald Ingholt excavated Hama, the Biblical Hamath. A preliminary report of the expedition was noted in these columns in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, lviii. [February, 1947] 138. Now a massive and sumptuous volume, superbly illustrated, has been published, dealing with the medieval glassware and pottery which was discovered.<sup>4</sup> There is a chapter on historical and stratigraphical data by P. J. Rijs, who also treats at length of the glassware, while V. Poulsen writes on the pottery. Professor E. Hammershaimb deals with the inscriptions on glass and pottery, and also has a chapter giving extracts from Arabic literary sources on Hama. There are some further appendices giving lists of articles found in medieval strata of the citadel hill, a report on the chemical analysis of the glassware, and another on the microscopic examination of the contents of a glass that was found. The expedition was financed by the Carlsberg Foundation, which has also met the cost of this magnificent volume. It is a pity that an expedition which was so richly rewarded with finds of a later period found little on this Biblical site of direct interest to the Biblical student.

**The Book of Daniel.** A very brief commentary on the Book of Daniel, written in French is by P. Oschwald.<sup>5</sup> The author holds to the unity of the book—so widely challenged to-day—and accepts the normal critical view that it was composed in the Maccabaeian age. It is a pity the commentary is on so small a scale. Two pages are allotted to ch. 4, and these allow the author no space to discuss the problems of the chapter, or to give his readers any reference to the newly found Dead Sea Scroll text about Nabonidus, which seems to confirm the conjecture made more than thirty years ago that the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness rests on a tradition about Nabonidus. As Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus and not of Nebuchadnezzar, this is of significance for ch. 5 also. It has often been conjectured that the stories of the first half of the Book of Daniel once circulated separately, and it may be that the transfer of this story to Nebuchadnezzar was made when the stories were brought together.

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<sup>1</sup> *Jeremia's Twijfel* [1957]. Brill, Leiden; Fl. 1.75.

<sup>2</sup> *De Zoon van God in het Oude Testament* [1958]. Universitaire Pers, Leiden; Fl. 1.10.

<sup>3</sup> *Petrus und seine Zeit: Neutestamentliche Studien* [1958]. Tyrolia Verlag, Munich; DM. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg, 1931-1938* [1957]. Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.

<sup>5</sup> *Le livre de Daniel* [1958]. Delachaux et Niestlé, Neuchatel and Paris; Swiss Fr. 3.



## In the Study

### Virginibus Puerisque

#### Any Questions ?

BY THE REVEREND CHARLES M. HEPBURN, B.D.,  
CRIEFF

'... and asking them questions.'—Lk 2<sup>46</sup>.

A FEW weeks ago in the Children's Hour programme on B.B.C. television that well-known writer and speaker, Sir Stephen King-Hall, was speaking to the children including you, for perhaps you were looking in and listening, about asking questions. In fact he said to ask plenty of questions, only not at inconvenient times. For instance, you shouldn't say to your Father, when he's hurrying his breakfast before going to the office in the morning, "I say, Dad, what do you think of the hydrogen bomb?" 'If you do,' remarked Sir Stephen, 'you'll probably get a rocket yourself.'

Still, provided you choose a convenient moment, asking questions is quite a proper thing to do. A famous scholar once remarked that the first step on the road to learning is to 'Ask Much'. One thing at least about this age of ours is it's an age of asking. There are 'Any Questions' and 'Twenty Questions' and so on.

Not long ago some one telephoned to the office of the Canadian Commissioner in London and asked: 'Can you give me, please, the name of the Governor General of Canada?' The name and address at Ottawa were promptly given. Then the voice went on

'And how many provinces are there in Canada?' Again the patient Canadian official gave the correct answer, but added,

'Oh, by the way, to whom am I speaking?' Whereupon the voice said:

'Harrison, Sir. I'm at my home lessons.' Well, Harrison, whoever he was, had the first secret of learning anyhow, to ask questions. So ask your fathers and mothers, ask your teachers, too, ask your minister, in fact ask any one all sorts of questions.

Only remember this, to ask sometimes about the really important things. They did in Old Testament days, for instance. When the boys and girls saw their parents keeping the great Passover Feast, they were to ask:

'What mean ye by this service?'

It was the only way they would know exactly what it meant. Yes, and wasn't that Jesus' example, too? That time Jesus at the age of twelve was in the Temple, it says He was sitting in the midst of the wise men 'both hearing them and

asking them questions'. So do just as Jesus did. Ask all sorts of questions, questions about this great and wonderful world, questions about God who made it, questions about life here and life hereafter, for the answer to these questions is the most important thing of all.

### The Battle of the Gauges

BY H. F. MATHEWS, M.A., PH.D.,  
KIDDERMINSTER

'There is one that seeketh and judgeth.'—Jn 8<sup>50</sup>.

Just one hundred years ago two very great engineers died within four short weeks of each other. Both Robert Stephenson and Isambard Kingdom Brunel followed famous fathers who were also engineers. Both worked so skilfully that even to-day, a hundred years after they died, most of us are dependent at some time upon something that they built.

If you have ever travelled north out of Euston, you have passed over a line that Robert Stephenson constructed—one of the most tricky pieces of railway engineering of the time, including the long Kilsby tunnel, where he ran into all sorts of difficulties from underground streams. If, on the other hand, you go to Cornwall for your holidays and you travel by rail, you pass over Brunel's famous bridge at Saltash with its two great spans of four hundred and fifty-five feet each, eighty feet above high-water mark.

If you travel in North Wales, you will see the bridges at Conway and Menai Straits made of steel girders bolted together like huge tubes through which the trains pass. They are Stephenson's work.

You don't travel by rail? All right. Have you ever been on a voyage, even a short one across to one of the islands? If so, you are debtor to Brunel; for he started the experiments which led ship-builders to use screw-propulsion for their new steamers.

Both were men of discipline, determination and courage, too. Stephenson was a sick man when he was twenty and went to South America to save his health. But when he heard of the problems his father George was meeting in his work, he came back to England to be with him in the fight. Brunel was quiet, kindly, generous; every one liked him. When his father was building the tunnel under the Thames, he once stayed for ninety-six hours at a stretch by the side of the navvies who were digging. On one terrible occasion the river burst into the workings. Brunel went down the



shaft, half-full of water, and at the risk of his own life brought a drowning workman to the surface. We can honour men like that on their anniversary.

But there was one thing on which they differed. They took different sides in what was known as 'the battle of the gauges'. At first, each of the scores of different railway companies which came into existence decided how wide apart it would set its lines. Some of them were as narrow in 'gauge' as two feet or even less: you can see relics of this in the Ffestiniog and Tal-y-llyn railways which have been preserved by enthusiasts. Stephenson chose the gauge of four feet eight and a half inches, the width of the old Roman chariot wheels. Brunel laid the Great Western Railway to a gauge of seven feet and held that he could run trains faster and more safely with metals that far apart.

Fortunately folk saw that, if carriages and trucks were to run all over the country, there would have to be a uniform gauge. It took a long time to decide which should be used, but at last Parliament decided on four feet eight and a half inches. For Brunel, that meant re-building all his locos and rolling stock and re-laying all his track. What chaos there would have been if he had said, 'My railway's going all right. I'm not bothered about any one else. I shall stay with my wide gauge.'

But we are not all so wise, or so gracious. We stick pig-headedly to our own opinions. We want to have things our own way. We don't worry much about other people when things are going well with ourselves. It is quite wrong to say, 'I'm all right' in a world in which millions of children are underfed and living in shacks in other lands. And it should never be possible for us to say, 'He'll never become straight and honest; he's a born liar'. God plans happiness for the refugees in Hong-Kong, and His grace can change the biggest 'fibber' into a reputable member of society.

Remember, the 'gauge' of life is His. In Jesus He showed us how He meant human life to be. This is God's world, and we may be sure that it will only work properly in His way. We may not always know exactly what job comes next,

But, dim or clear, we own in Thee  
The Light, the Truth, the Way.

### The Christian Year

TWENTY-SECOND SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

#### The Debt of the Forgiven

BY THE REVEREND EDWARD ROGERS, M.A., B.D., LONDON  
'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.'—Mt 6<sup>12</sup>.

Bishop Corson of the American Methodist Church tells the story of the Committee on Worship, en-

trusted with the task of revising a denominational Book of Offices, which came in the course of their work to the Lord's Prayer. They debated long and earnestly whether they should retain the traditional form, 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us', or to substitute 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors'. Eventually they agreed unanimously on the following resolution: 'In view of the present serious financial stringency your Committee feels that we would prefer to forgive trespasses rather than to forgive debts'.

The truth of the story is not guaranteed, but the underlying truth is obvious enough. It puts very pointedly the fact that we prefer our religion to be discreetly vague, while the religion of the New Testament is inclined to be painfully precise.

The Parable of the Two Debtors, narrated in Mt 18, belongs to the painfully precise category. It needs little exposition. It comes so near the bone that we either ignore it or smother it with conditional clauses. The trouble with the story is that it punctures so deftly our vanity. The normal, sinful man lives in a self-centred universe. Because he is, in his own eyes, the most important person living and breathing, he takes it as a natural tribute to his unique quality that he should be generously treated. But because he is so important no one should be allowed to take advantage of him, or to refrain from tendering his proper dues. The picture is exaggerated, but there is enough truth in it for it to be recognizable. The looker-on can see the grotesque disparity between the immense debt forgiven and the trifling debt the forgiven would not forgive. But the man involved, thinking only of himself, was aware of no disparity.

He was possessed by that illusive, selfish pride which shuts out God. For the message of the parable is not that God strikes a bargain with us, as though to say: 'If you will show yourself a little more tender-hearted, I will be prepared to treat you generously'. Nor is it that we ought to be grateful, and should demonstrate our gratitude.

The truth is that love is the foundation of the eternal Kingdom of God. In the wisdom of God His Kingdom is founded on love, because only love endures eternally. The pattern of my redemption is compounded of God's love for me, revealed in the saving work of Christ, in my love for God called forth by the revelation of His love in Christ, and in my love for my fellow-men springing from the recognition that they, too, are the full and equal objects of His love.

The relationship is not static; either it grows or it withers. The more I respond to the mercy of God, the more sure I am of His mercy, and the more surely I know that in love I must strive to bear the burdens of my fellows, and the more I so



strive the more clearly I see the mercy of God. But if I shrink from the natural consequences of Divine love, I turn aside from the path of redemption. I may fool myself juggling intellectually with knotty points of theology. I may manufacture for myself an inadequate and jazzed-up emotion. But I shall have left the way of life and entered into the morass of self-regard. If I will not forgive, I cannot be forgiven.

#### TWENTY-THIRD SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

#### The Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth

BY THE REVEREND JOHN L. KENT, M.A.,  
CATHCART, GLASGOW

'The Lord God omnipotent reigneth.'—Rev 19<sup>6</sup>.

Under any circumstances this is a great faith to hold. But for John to sound this clarion call to his fellow-Christians, placed as they were, was the evidence of a faith which was startling and awe-inspiring.

A tiny church, composed of poor, ignorant and enslaved men and women was being persecuted. The might of Imperial Rome was arrayed against it. These were the circumstances in which John proclaimed his faith. He set against the might of Rome the almightiness of God. 'The Lord God omnipotent reigneth.'

How did John know? Of what was this invincible faith born? Up to a point, he had inherited it. John believed that the Lord God omnipotent reigned because his fathers' religion transmitted the faith to him and their history proved it.

But something had happened to John that transformed this faith for him. It was his experience of Jesus. For the word omnipotence can have forbidding associations. It calls to mind a force which men cannot resist but which they resent.

In Jesus, John and his fellow-Christians had come to know another kind of omnipotence. The word was released from all its forbidding associations. They saw in it a compulsion that they sincerely desired. They gave to it not a resentful but a glad and willing obedience. For it was the omnipotence of the God of love, made real, convincing and converting in the Lord Jesus Christ.

From one point of view this is the truth that the Christian religion seeks to communicate. It is comparatively easy to believe in the all powerfulness of God. Even the so-called atheist assents to a power beyond man's control and knowledge to which, in life and in death, man must simply

submit. What splits the human race into various philosophies and religions is the answer to the question, 'What is the character of God? And what therefore is the nature of this omnipotence?'

The Christian revelation is the exposure of what is at the heart of omnipotence. Not a cold, unfeeling power that is reckless of destruction, indifferent to right and wrong but active, redemptive love, ever seeking the good of men, never willing that pain and sin and death should destroy them and striving through life's vicissitudes to bring them into its eternal fellowship.

This was the omnipotence the disciples and their successors had experienced in Jesus Christ. Let us seek to share this experience as we see it exemplified during the last few hours of our Lord's earthly existence.

*Washing the disciples' feet.* In the Upper Room, in this dramatic action, our Lord was epitomizing the spirit and meaning of His life. All that He was and possessed He gave to the service of men. Stanley Jones once found himself in the midst of a plague-stricken area where he saw two saffron-robed Hindus quietly pursuing their devotions. He appealed for their assistance and received the reply, 'We are holy men. We do not help anyone.' But no one was too contaminated for Jesus to help. He spent Himself as much on the emaciated leper as on the centurion's son. Look at the variety and range of His acts of kindness and of love and you see the comprehensiveness of His service. Dr. William Barclay tells us that the word 'almighty' 'describes God as the One who has dominion over all things, the One who controls all things, the One who holds all things in His grasp'. It was this power that men felt resided in Jesus. 'If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' And, mark you, not so much that man might know that this was the Son of God but that they might know that the power of God was activated by His compassion. Concern for the good of men is at its heart.

This omnipotence reigns. It did not merely make itself manifest once in history; it is a living and triumphant force here and now. Said Jesus in that Upper Room, 'If I then, your lord and master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet'. Serve your fellow-men with the same self-effacement and you will be astonished at what happens. Genuine concern, rooted in the love of Jesus, expressing itself in self-giving service is the vehicle of the incalculable power of God. Do you believe this? Well, go and act accordingly and you will see that the testimony of the saints is true.

*Praying in the Garden.* When Jesus suffered the inexpressible anguish of Gethsemane He had come to the climax of a struggle in which He had been engaged throughout His ministry. For the



doing of His Father's will was the supreme and unswerving purpose of His life. Yet the performing of that will had never been easy. Not, as some people assume, because He was uncertain or in doubt about it. Although He was human, His humanity never obscured His Heavenly Father's intentions. He had a clear understanding of God's perfect will. What must have been a perpetual torment to Him was that this will had to be done in an imperfect world! Every situation that faced Him was misshapen and perverted by man's ignorance, obtuseness and sin but in it Jesus had to execute God's will.

Here, in Gethsemane, looming up before our Lord, was the extreme manifestation of this agony. The situation facing Him was composed of prejudice, malice, hatred! In it He had to do God's will. How?

When, after His thrice repeated prayer, Jesus quietly surrendered to the forces of wickedness, He was acting positively and creatively so that God's final purposes might be realized. Even in this set of circumstances, more defiant of God's intentions than anything we could imagine, God's all-prevailing power was revealed, through the obedience of His Son.

The Apostle John had seen it and had entered into this experience. His successors had shared this truth. A little unresisting Church, encircled by the might of Rome, face to face with what looked like extinction, was inspired by the faith. This was their Gethsemane and in it the omnipotence of God would be revealed.

It must always be so. So long as sinful man exists he will present to God nothing but such situations. The perfect will must ever be done in the imperfect setting. One thing is incredible: that God should allow circumstances to arise which inevitably defeat His ultimate purposes. If He did He would abdicate from the throne of the universe. The new omnipotence operates through those who, inspired by the Lord Jesus, react positively to frustration so that God's final will is accomplished.

*Dying on a Cross.* This is what Calvary means. Jesus was meeting circumstances produced by evil not merely with a supine acceptance. He was entering into them creatively so as to wrest good out of evil. He was presenting to the effrontery of man's sin a will of unquenchable and unassailable good. No power in earth or in hell could withstand the might of God's persistent and invincible love.

This is the omnipotence in which the Christian puts his trust. In the good causes to which he gives his allegiance, he is confident that he must prevail because he is inspired by the all-prevailing might of a Cross. In his struggle for virtue against

the machinations of the devil to which he so remorsefully succumbs, he is sure that at the last he will be clothed in the white garments of holiness because of the operation of God's irresistible love. Even now he knows that he is no longer a slave to the world, the flesh and the devil for he has been redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ.

When the slaves of Jamaica heard that they would be liberated on a certain day, they began their preparations the night before. Throughout the hours of darkness they climbed and finally crowded the highest hill. With their faces to the East, they watched until the first rays of the sun rising above the sea could be seen. Then they laughed, they sang, they shouted, they fell on their knees, they threw their arms around each other and they cried in a kind of ecstasy, 'Free! Free! Free! Free!'

A joy such as this fills the hearts of those who believe and from experience know that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

## TWENTY-FOURTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

### A Remembrance Day Sermon

BY THE REVEREND R. LEONARD SMALL, O.B.E., D.D.,  
EDINBURGH

'There was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.'—Rev 8<sup>1</sup>.

No one, young or old, can fail to be impressed by the two minutes' silence on each successive Remembrance Day. These are moments when many look back to the first Armistice Day, when at last the guns fell silent. For all it is a time for looking round the world to other similar groups of people observing the same silence and forming a chain of fellowship in remembering. The text suggests yet another direction in which it is helpful to look, when it states 'there was silence in heaven'. Here is a strange but uplifting idea. This book was written to help Christian people in difficult days, to enable them to face persecution, danger, death, to stand up for Jesus and to stand firm in the faith. In the preceding chapter the writer presents a great picture of those who have come out of great tribulation—a passage very often read on Remembrance Day, bidding us who remain to think of a great victory parade of those who have been called to Higher Service and are freed from every hurt and handicap. Surely we are right to read and apply the passage in this way and to think in these terms. But why this strange detail? Why after this victory parade this silence



in heaven? Because amid all the shouts of the victors and the praises of the redeemed God could not hear something He had to hear, the prayers of people still on earth, baffled, wondering why, crying: 'How long?', suffering, afraid of what was going to happen. If we set aside these two minutes for God to speak to us, how much longer will it take for Him to listen, to hear and accept what we have to say to Him in reverent silence from our hearts on such a day?

We offer to God this day in silence our reverent, humble remembrance of what other men and women were prepared to pay that we might live. It is good for us so to do, to call a truce to all the querulous complaining that war never achieves anything, that it all was useless waste. It is salutary to stop and silently reckon our inescapable debt. The figures of those who were killed in action or died as a result of two World Wars are astronomical—the mind cannot grasp them unless and until they are broken down into human terms. Some figures do stab the spirit broad awake. A battalion of the Cameron Highlanders went into one of the battles of the Somme at full strength, some one thousand men. When the roll was called after the battle seventy-five men answered to their names. During the War in the Mediterranean a British cruiser got into an Italian minefield and blew up. Out of the entire ship's company there was only one survivor. Look at the cost like that, taking pains to translate every figure, each total into personal human terms, and how vast the debt becomes. Count it all in, leaving out nothing, adding in the deaths that were not at all dramatic—those who laid down their lives just because they were where they happened to be in the course of their duty. How much of the cost was wasteful, needless, and useless! The list of names on the War Memorial of one typical congregation began with a lad accidentally shot by a sentry at his own camp, and a young R.A.F. boy who died in a bleak, hurriedly-erected camp in his own country from an unsuspected and neglected pneumonia. If you would make the tale complete, forget not the vast multitudes of 'next-of-kin'—like the father in a wealthy home in the U.S.A., pointing to the oil portrait of a young man in military uniform and saying, with a sense of meaningless muddle or mystery: 'He bore a German name, his whole heredity for generations was German, and he was killed in Germany fighting Germans'. This uneasy peace we still 'enjoy', this freedom which is ours, the lives of children born unshadowed by fear—none of these are our own, they were bought with a price.

We offer to God in reverent silence our prayers for those who still suffer, and for a lost and frightened, as well as frightening world. How temptingly

easy it is to forget, till the poppies bring their reminder not only of those who died but of the living who still pay. One of the seventy-five survivors of the Camerons who went into that battle of the Somme recently had a leg amputated as a result of wounds then suffered. This was his fifteenth operation on that leg, including a succession of partial amputations. It would be possible to obtain the official totals of those wounded, maimed and permanently handicapped in some such way, and the figures would shatter belief. What is not so easy to measure is the number who, in subtler ways, will never be the same again—those who came back with character changed, faith shaken, outlook hopelessly warped. How the circles widen, as one thinks, honestly and in the reverent silence imposed by this day. How many homes were broken during the War, or amid the difficult readjustments just after it, or by a kind of delayed action effect in the years that have followed—all of them, really and truly, war casualties. Look wider still, and what a broken world this is, with men and nations broken up into camps, ideologies, blocs, divided by fear that is nourished by mutual prejudice and misunderstanding. The ordinary man does not want war—of course not, he is always the loser from it; but he can be led to believe that he needs it, that it is the only way to some desired goal, to freedom from threat upon his borders, to much-needed *Lebensraum*, to the achievement of some dream of greatness. Governments now possess new and terrible power, and over us all hangs the dread that some one may start something that no one could stop. It is crystal clear that we cannot save ourselves, and the very agony of need we share with the ordinary man everywhere must form a prayer crying out in the silence of this day, like an S.O.S. But how do we know God will hear and answer? Is there, perhaps, nothing but silence in heaven, with no one to heed or care? If you cut a large letter H out of cardboard you have made the symbol of our dread, the H-bomb. But cut the bar of the H through the middle, turn each half outwards, lay the legs of the H on top of one another, and you have made a Cross, the symbol and measure of God's caring which is set over the graves of the fallen.

We offer to God in the silence our dedication to the tasks and duties that lie before us. There is not much the ordinary man can do to influence the course of world events, but he is challenged to show in his daily life the kind of spirit ordinary folk, young and old alike, showed during the testing years of war. In a deep sense we are still involved in a struggle which twice in living memory has issued in a 'shooting war' but which is going on all the time. It is a struggle between good and



evil, between best and second best, between selfishness and service. In that struggle we fight, often without knowing it, in the streets and the houses, on the fields and in the factories, we have this battle on our hands in the office, the staff-room, the meeting of Kirk Session, or Ward Committee, or Trade Union. Under strain and stress of war conditions the crew of a bomber or a submarine, the men of a platoon of infantry or a squadron of tanks knew that all depended on each, that there was no room for passengers, that the shirker who failed in his duty left every one down. Here is a new way to beat swords into plough-shares, to adapt war-time courage and loyalty to the ordinary tasks of peace. It is not enough to hold a Parade of Youth Organizations once a year, ask them to stand for two minutes in a silence they but poorly understand, and then join with them in singing 'Onward, Christian soldiers'. We must all, in this reverent silence, with the hosts of heaven about us, dedicate ourselves. We dare do no less. 'There's but one gift that all our dead desire—God make us better men.'

#### TWENTY-FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

##### Foundations for Morality

BY THE REVEREND ROBERT BROWN, B.A., B.D.,

BLACKPOOL

'Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock.'—Mt 7<sup>24</sup>.

Professor A. M. Hunter of Aberdeen, in his brilliant little book entitled *Design for Life*, lists six different lines of interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount. He begins with the Russian novelist Tolstoy who found in the Sermon a new Law which had to be literally obeyed, so that, for instance, the saying 'Swear not at all' meant for him an end to all oaths, even in law courts. 'Resist not evil' meant an end to police control and authority, and Tolstoy expected that out of such literal obedience a new society would come into being—the Kingdom of God on earth.

In striking contrast there is the view of Albert Schweitzer who regarded the Kingdom as completely otherworldly and to be understood only in terms of apocalyptic eschatology, that is to say, in terms of the shattering of the this-worldly order of things by an act of Divine intervention. The teaching of the Mount, then, assumes the nature

of an 'interim ethic'—a morality of 'between the times', a period of waiting and preparation which will be short. But since the world did not end in the 30's of this era, the moral teaching of Jesus loses much of its force and can have little direct application to men in the twentieth century. Dr. Hunter points out with obvious fairness that the whole of Schweitzer's subsequent career is a living and glorious refutation of the logic of this theory. The third view, associated with the name of Johannes Müller, is that Jesus was not laying down laws, but indicating the *essential disposition* of the Christian man, and was concerned therefore with what a man should *be* rather than with what a man should *do*: hence the significance of the paradox, hyperbole, and picturesque language of the teaching—a significance missed by mere literalism.

The fourth view is the theological approach of Gerhard Kittel who sees in the Sermon the call of the unattainable ideal which must yet be attained. Unattainable for fallen man, its purpose is therefore to show man the futility of his moral striving and his need for repentance. In this way is man prepared to receive the gospel of God's forgiveness declared in the Cross.

The fifth view, expressive of the outlook of Karl Barth and Emil Brunner, is that of the American, Richard Niebuhr, who regards the Sermon as a call to absolute obedience and committal to the will of God, regardless of all social consequences. This obedience cannot be expected in this world, only when God winds up history and brings in the supernatural Kingdom will it be possible for us to live as Jesus bids us in the Sermon on the Mount.

The final view listed by Dr. Hunter is that of the late T. W. Manson, who, basing his researches purely on New Testament textual criticism, felt that the moral teaching of Jesus springs from His gospel. 'What the Sermon supplies is an ideal picture of life in the Kingdom of God on earth. Its tone is prophetic, not legal. The moral demands of Jesus in the Sermon imply that those who accept them shall have undergone a change of heart—a conversion. What we have in the Sermon is a number of illustrations of the way in which a transformed man will behave.'

It is clear that all six views have elements of truth in them: truth is always many-sided and we do well to remember that simple fact lest we vainly imagine that our way of looking at things is the only possible way of regarding them. The diversity of view also reminds us that there is yet more light and truth to break forth from God's Holy Word. Remembering these diverse lines of approach, there are certain basic principles which we neglect at our peril.



First, we are all placed in the position of those who first heard the Sermon. The extreme views of Tolstoy and Schweitzer challenge us to rethink our ideas of Time. We are not two thousand years nearer Eternity than were the men of the New Testament. They and we are equi-distant from Eternity—a human life-span and no more. In terms of the light-years it takes for light from the nearest planet to reach this earth, it is the flicker of an eye-lid and no more! The language of crisis and immediate judgment is the only way in which the true sense of urgency can be expressed. We stand where they were.

Second, we stand where they were in that we, too, are disciples, learners. T. W. Manson happily translated the word 'Apprentices'. Each generation has to learn afresh for itself the meaning of discipleship and hence make religion and morality its own. We do not inherit the 'skills' of life: each generation has to be apprenticed, and what better way than with the Master-Craftsman?

Third, we stand where they were because we, too, are human, with all the weaknesses that flesh is heir to, and all the capacities of sinful men for avoiding moral and spiritual issues. We need the challenge of the radical inwardness of the moral insights of Jesus. We need to think of 'being' instead of the act alone as the criterion of morality.

Fourthly, we stand where they were in that truth is truth wheresoever and in whomsoever it is found, and in so far as it is absolute truth it is valid in every age. That is the claim of Jesus. He says—'This is the way of life, walk ye in it.' It is the way because it is in accord with the will of God, it is true to the bed-rock stuff of the universe—'the stuff out of which the whole fabric of things has been created'. This is the way because in God's world the only plans which can ultimately succeed are those which are part of His. The ideal is seen as the basically real.

What, then, is the outcome? It means that when we open our New Testament we are confronted with the Word of God to our own souls. We have to understand that word; we have to seek to apply it both inwardly to our thinking and attitudes, and outwardly in our relationships. If, then, we are confronted with something which is beyond us but which yet lays claim upon us, then we know, in a sense beyond mere intellectualism, our moral and spiritual weakness, and out of our weakness there will come for our seeking, the power, forgiveness and grace of the living God.

Men need God most desperately when they set about doing the will of God. Until that happens men can go on living godless lives, saying truthfully that they have no need of God, but once measure life in terms of the will of God revealed in Jesus, and man can no longer leave God out of

this reckoning. Our lack of a sense of need might quite well indicate how, all unthinkingly, we have got away from the standards of the Sermon on the Mount.

## SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE ADVENT

### The Revelation of Ideals

By THE VERY REVEREND GEORGE JOHNSTONE JEFFREY

D.D., GLASGOW

There is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known'.—Mt 10<sup>26</sup>.

There are two implications in these words. One is austere and awesome, and no one who takes life seriously would evade its challenge. It declares that if a man is living a worldly, sensual life, sooner or later, the low aims that govern such a life will disclose themselves for all to see. 'Evil will out.' But there is an aspect of the text which is comforting and inspiring. If the ruling motive of a man's character is service to God and man, then, inevitably, this will issue in a noble destiny. 'Goodness, also, will out.' Jesus is saying here what He says so solemnly elsewhere. 'The eye is the lamp of the body. So if your eye is generous, the whole of your body will be illumined. But if your eye is selfish, the whole of your body will be darkened.' Thus the text has 'a savour of life unto life and of death unto death'.

Consider first the austere aspect of the text. It were good for us as early as possible in life to get it wrought into the fibres of our being that if we are living for low and unworthy ends, these can be hidden only for a time. If our inner world be a realm of unbridled imaginations and unhallowed desires, time has strange ways of exposing it. There is a law of unconscious self-revealing, which no man can escape. There is a fearsome passage in the Psalms which is spoken of the slanderer. 'His heart gathereth iniquity to itself; when he goeth abroad, he telleth it.' There are two situations in life where such an exposure takes place. First of all there is the record of evil written on the face. As has been said, 'Good and evil keep very exact accounts in human life and their ledger is the human face'. Then also evil betrays itself in a man's unguarded moments. Foul thought and imagination cannot escape the test of the sudden exposure. We need not dwell too long on this scarifying thought. But it is implicit in life and it is there to stab and smite us with its teaching. Not only does it work out in evil in the lives of



thers—for 'no man liveth unto himself', but the life of self-deception recoils on ourselves.

Still as of old,

Men by themselves are priced

For thirty pieces Judas sold

Himself, not Christ.

Shakespeare's constant theme in his plays is the grim harvest that follows the planting in the mind of some evil seed—avarice, ambition or uncleanness. Of that victim of inordinate ambition, Macbeth, Professor Bradley says: 'What Shakespeare felt when he wrote this play was the *incalculability of evil*, that in meddling with it, men do not know what they know not what. The soul, he seems to feel, is a thing of such inconceivable depth, complexity and delicacy that when you introduce into it or suffer to develop in it, any change, and particularly the change called evil, you can form only the vaguest idea of the reaction you will provoke. All you can be sure of is, that *it will not be what you expected and that you cannot possibly escape it*.' Surely graver words were never written unless it be these, 'Stand in awe and sin not' or these, 'There is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known'.

But we hasten to the *joyous aspect* of these words. There is nothing pure, lovely or of good report at work within but will one day do its hallowing work and come to its own. True spirituality will gradually make a plain face beautiful with a beauty this world can neither give nor take away. As one has said, 'The habit of prayer will in time make the human countenance its own divinest altar. Years upon years of true thoughts, like ceaseless music shut up within, will vibrate along the nerves of expression until the lines of the living instrument are drawn into correspondence and the harmony of visible form matches the unheard harmonies of the mind.' We have all seen such faces and the sight is a purification. It was my habit, in days gone by, to retire from the din of a Glasgow street and enter a certain tea room. The walls were lined with lovely pictures. For me at least it was always a benediction to forget the noise and the distraction of the busy thoroughfare and sit down before one picture. It was that of an old woman, at her evening tryst with God, her open Bible before her, her hands clasped, her wrinkles transfigured by the wrapt look of devotion that was not of this earth.

Like a white candle

In a holy place

So is the beauty

Of an aged face.

Let it be added that for a man whose inner life is a sanctuary of God, *there are no unguarded moments*. He has no need to fear any sudden test, for he has nothing to fear or to hide. Wherever he goes, whatever he does, he cannot help being his true self. Surely this is the blessed life.

But it would be merely toying with the teaching of the text if we did not see in it the *implications of eternity*. There is a day coming for all of us where all that is covered will be finally revealed and the things that have lurked in the dim chiaroscuro of the mind will lie in the white light of the scrutiny of God. All that is theatrical and shoddy and sophisticated in the life within will meet the gaze of Him who seeth in secret. How often in this life we rebel at its false valuations, at the tinsel which is so often taken for pure gold. The late Archbishop Temple had an original slant on life in one of his books. Contemplating this confusion of earthly values, he pictures a mischievous school-boy climbing into a shop window and in utter glee reversing all the prices by changing all the tickets, so that something really valuable is going for a trifle and something cheap is priced at an expensive sum. Scripture again and again warns us that our lives will undergo this final appraisal and many that are first shall be last and the last first. Would it not be wise, especially for those whose sun is westering, to dwell a little oftener on this final day of reckoning? It will be a comfort to know that the man who has lived here for the Spirit and to the glory of God can leave that great assize to the infinite compassion he has known down the years. The Apostle Paul has a lovely touch in one of his most challenging sayings—'Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: *and then shall every man have praise of God*'. A glad conclusion, surely, for all who look back on life with many a regret. It means that God who knows us to the uttermost, our best and worst, will strive to find amid all our failures some redeeming excellence, some earnest intention, some hope of goodness and truth to which we clung obstinately to the end. In such lowly confidence let us await the last great unveiling.

O blessed hope! with this elate,

Let not our hearts be desolate,

But, strong in faith, in patience, wait

Until He come.



## Entre Nous

### Sage and Saint

A Presbyterian Scot is sometimes left incredulous when he sees the methods of education for the ministry in the Anglican Church. In Scotland the student for the ministry will go through almost exactly the same mill of learning in one of the four Scottish Colleges, and, although there are exceptions, his choice of a College will by and large be dictated by the part of Scotland in which he happens to live. In the Anglican Church the student for the ministry will have an almost bewildering choice of more than a score of Colleges and Communities of widely differing theologies and practice. In face of this comparison it may be that sometimes the incredulity is not untinged with envy!

Amid these Anglican Colleges and Communities there is none which bears a more justly honoured name than Kelham. The founder of Kelham was Father Herbert Kelly; and there has appeared a re-issue of his book, *The Gospel of God*, with a memoir of Father Kelly, by Brother George Every, S.S.M. (S.C.M.; ros. 6d. net). The memoir makes a fascinating story.

When Herbert Kelly was a curate Anglican theological education was just about to undergo a revolution. 'At that time the Church of England did not seem to be interested in offers of service from any one who had not been at the proper public schools and the older universities.' At the same time, 'Anglicans were just beginning to perceive that to be a "gentleman" is not in itself a sufficient qualification for a clergyman'. It so happened that, after Herbert Kelly had served in two curacies in this country, the possibility of going out to Korea with a new Bishop presented itself to him. He did not go, because the new bishop had had offers from twelve laymen to accompany him; for them to have accompanied him without training would have been futile; and Herbert Kelly undertook their training. This was the seed from which Kelham was to grow.

There is no doubt whatever that Herbert Kelly was a remarkable man.

He was remarkable as a *theologian*. He began a lecture by saying: 'We are met in the most holy name of religion. I am not quite sure what people mean by that heathen word (never used of Christianity in the New Testament), but my business is to talk about God, which is not quite the same thing.' 'Theology', he said, 'I conceive to be the study of the vision, of the great life-purpose, and there is no ultimate purpose except in God.' His study was not of God as a doctrine but of God as a person. 'Men have always believed there was a

God, because the world was intelligible and good. On the other hand men have believed *in* God, because the world wasn't intelligible, and so much of it seemed evil.' He was not interested in why one doctrine was orthodoxy and another heresy, but he was interested in why one doctrine was saving and another was deadly for a man's soul. What greater aim could a theological teacher have than to confront men with God?

He was, if possible, still more remarkable as an *administrator*. Although he was the founder of the Kelham Community, in 1910 he made up his mind to hand over the leadership to some one else, and to re-enter as a novice. He knew his power and his limitations. He said: 'The archdeacon said: "Fr. Kelly's speech was extremely interesting. It has made me think." I consider that an achievement on my part of which few men are capable, but there it is. I can make people think, I cannot get them to do anything. . . . I am a staff college lecturer, not a commander.' He had this extraordinary selflessness, which knew when to go. For a time he was teaching in Japan. 'I was in Japan', he said, 'as long as was good for them. I am a memory. If I had stopped longer I might . . . have become a bore.' The most difficult thing in the world for any man is to be humble enough to know when to lay leadership down. Herbert Kelly had that unique humility.

He was remarkable as a *man*. Nothing shows this better than his work in Japan. He never learned Japanese; maybe he did not understand the Japanese; but they understood him. Brother George Every writes: 'I once asked a Japanese priest why Father Kelly made such an impression in his country. The immediate answer was that he was a holy man.' And this holiness shines through this brief memoir of Herbert Kelly's life and work.

About this book *The Gospel of God* we have said nothing, although in the judgment of William Temple it was and is an important book. We never knew Herbert Kelly, although we have known many men moulded by the tradition which he initiated. From them and from the reading of this memoir we know that Herbert Kelly was greater than anything he said or wrote. His epitaph may well be: 'This was a holy man'.

WILLIAM BARCLAY

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